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Religion of Jamaican Negroes

A Study of Afro-Jamaican Acculturation

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PREFACE

Jamaica offers too much rather than too little for the ethnographer. At the start of this study in January, 1950, my wife and I went to the island to make a study of the ways of life of a predominantly Negro community, and subsequently chose Morant Bay. Early in the field experience, it was obvious that so much material could be developed that we decided to concentrate on the aspect of religion, and to work intensively with two cult groups represented in this area. The <u>african</u> Cumina and Revival groups were selected because they were the two which seemed to have the largest membership. Work should be done with the Convince Flenkee, Revival Zion, and the Black Israelite, or Pocomania, groups among the Christian oriented cults, and among the Maroons who are African in background and structure. It is to be hoped that study will be continued with these four last named groups to increase our total understanding of the acculturative process among the six or more cult groups operating in this one part of Jamaica.

Material collected, which is not concerned with this particular study, remains to be processed. On magnetic tape recordings, there are over 5,000 words of the language referred to as <u>african</u>, including sections on sentence construction. Music, too, has been recorded, which must be translated and transcribed.

The opportunity to pursue this study was made possible through the Department of Anthropology at Northwestern University under the direction of Professor Melville J. Herskovits, and through the generosity of the Viking Fund. The counsel and guidance of Dr. and Mrs. Herskovits, and the helpfulness of Professors William R. Bascom, Francis L. K. Hsu, and the late Paul K. Hatt are gratefully acknowledged.

In Jamaica, the friendly interest and cooperation of members of the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the University College of the West Indies, and particularly the director, Dr. H. Dudley Huggins, are deeply appreciated. Needless to say, the material on which the study is based could not have been collected without the able and willing assistance of my Jamaican friends, Aaron Gordon, Clarence Bell, Lafflin House, Thomas Saunders, Cecil, Chippie, and Cinderella. To them, and the many other Jamaican informants, I am deeply grateful.

For their indefatigable work in the arduous task of compiling and transcribing data, my heartfelt thanks go to Miss Dorothy L. Taylor, Mrs. Mildred T. Doyle, and Mr. Marvin W. McKnight.

Finally, I cannot close without a word of appreciation for two other people without whose help I could not have completed this study. They are Professor Richard Waterman of the Department of Anthropology of Northwestern University and my wife. Throughout the final assembly and writing of the material, these two have given unstintingly of their time and energy.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Jamaica differs significantly from most other New World areas in which Afro-American religious acculturation has been studied in that it lies within the Church of England, rather than the Roman Catholic or the Baptist sphere of influence, and thus provides a third type of European-derived religious milieu to which West African and Congo slaves and their descendants were obliged, in greater or less degree, to accommodate themselves, and against which may be projected the various mechanisms of reinterpretations involved in the acculturative process.[1]

The specific objects of study, within Jamaica, were the religious groups composed entirely of Negroes, outside the major conventional Christian denominations. A number of these exist, and two which represent the end points of a continuum of Jamaican Negro religious acculturation--from most to least acceptance of European theological patterns, from least to most retention of African religious concepts--were chosen for study. On the African end is the

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1 Cf. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, "The Negro in Northern Brazil," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1945) and M. J. Herskovits, Life in a Haitian Valley, 1937, for discussions of Afro-Roman Catholic acculturation; and M. J. and F. S. Herskovits, Trinidad Village, 1947, for a treatment of Afro-Baptist acculturation.

Cumina; on the European, is Revival.

The problem of selecting, in advance of field investigation, a site for ethnographic research was greatly facilitated by an analysis of certain factors of the most recent--1943--census of Jamaica. These factors were color, religion, education, conjugal relationship, and economic status. Statistics for each of the fourteen Jamaican civil parishes were examined with respect to these categories. Tables concerned with color indicate the parishes with the greatest concentration of Negroes; in this case, the parish with the highest recorded percentage of "black" would be the most fertile field for acculturation research. Since the Afro-Jamaican religious organizations go all but unrecognized by census tabulators, the parish showing the greatest number of persons with "no religion" might reasonably be expected, if it were a "black" parish, to have the largest number of members of these unofficial sects.[1] The parish with the greatest number of uneducated persons, the parish with the highest percentage of "single and common-law mothers," and the parish with the most "tenants" and "bad dwellings" would similarly, on the basis of previous findings concerning Negro acculturation in the Caribbean, be the places where the least of Europeanisms have been accepted, and the most of Africanisms retained.

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1 This involves the assumption that Jamaican Negroes, like other Afro-American groups, have retained the West African focus on religion as indicated and documented, e.g., in M. J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past, and would therefore be unlikely to have "no religion."

The following tables indicate the relative status of the parishes with regard to these, at least partially diagnostic, features. In each case, only the five highest-ranking parishes have been listed, except in Table 3 where the percentage and rank order of St. Thomas, in general the "leading" parish, has also been tabulated.

TABLE 1

HIGHEST PERCENTAGE RECORDED AS "BLACK"

		(rank)
St. Thomas	88.6	14
St. Catherine . . .	85.1	13
Portland	85	12
St. James	84.5	10
St. Anne	83.1	10
(All Jamaica	78.1)	

TABLE 2

HIGHEST PERCENTAGE RECORDED AS "NO RELIGION"

		(rank)
Westmoreland	6.7	14
St. Elizabeth . . .	5.8	13
St. James	5.7	12
St. Mary	5.2	11
St. Thomas	5.1	10
(All Jamaica	3:9)	

TABLE 3

HIGHEST PERCENTAGE RECORDED AS "ILLITERATE"

		(rank)
St. Elizabeth	34.6	14
Clarendon	32.9	13
Trelawny	32.9	12
Westmoreland	32.1	11
St. Catherine	30.5	10
St. Thomas	25.2	7
(All Jamaica	25.6)	

TABLE 4

HIGHEST PERCENTAGE RECORDED AS

"SINGLE AND COMMON-LAW MOTHERS"

		(rank)
St. Thomas	63.9	14
St. Catherine . .	62.2	13
St. James	61.7	12
Kingston	57.5	11
St. Elizabeth . .	54.2	10
(All Jamaica . . .	54.4)	

TABLE 5

HIGHEST PERCENTAGE RECORDED AS "TENANTS"

		(rank)
Kingston	88.5	14
St. Andrew	64.9	13
St. Thomas	52.1	12
St. James	49.3	11
St. Catherine . .	47.1	10

TABLE 6

HIGHEST PERCENTAGE RECORDED AS "BAD DWELLINGS"

		(rank)
Westmoreland . . .	56.3	14
St. Mary	54.9	13
St. Thomas	54.3	12
Hanover	53.2	11
Portland	51.7	10

On the basis of these figures, St. Thomas, which led the Jamaican parishes in two of the tables, was significantly above the Jamaican norm in two others, and dropped below only in being slightly above the mean for literacy, was tentatively selected as the location for the study. Subsequent conferences with the director and staff of the Institute for Social and Economic Research of the University College

of the British West Indies, and with other educators and social workers in Kingston, Jamaica, resulted in the confirmation of this choice.

It was also established at the Institute for Social and Economic Research that Morant Bay was the economic and social center of St. Thomas Parish. The town supported the largest Saturday market, banks, shops, and civil administration offices; it was the parish seat of government. Inasmuch as it appeared at the onset of this study that borrowing between European and African peoples had been extensive, there seemed to be an advantage in setting up the study where it could sample evidence from the largest possible area and population.

The next step was an attempt to select, within the Morant Bay area, census subdivisions, the neighborhoods best suited to begin the study. There are five census subtracts in the larger community area. Tabulations of color, religion, and education were all that could be secured for these subtracts. The percentages were as follows, using (a) for "black," (b) for "no religion," and (c) for "illiterate":

	Subtract #11	Subtract #21	Subtract #24	Subtract #26	Subtract #27
(a)	91.4 (4)	94.9 (5)	88.3 (2)	90.3 (3)	86.2 (1)
(b)	64.3 (5)	6.6 (3)	1.1 (1)	5.0 (2)	18.9 (4)
(c)	26.7 (5)	23.8 (3)	23.3 (3)	21.4 (1)	23.2 (3)

Subtracts #11 and #21, thus, led all other neighborhoods in percentages and were, therefore, the places within the community where first contacts should be made; that the other areas were similar to one another indicated that all five areas should be checked before the study was completed.

From the beginning of actual field work, normal anthropological techniques were used. The entire area of Larger Morant Bay was mapped. Informants were secured, first in subtracts #11 and #21; then contacts were expanded until informants were drawn from all five subtract areas. The informants were of various ages and included children, teenagers, adults from twenty to thirty, and adults forty and over.[1]

This study is a contribution to a growing body of research on the Negro in the New World, and is intended to test, in this area, the hypothesis of cultural focus, as well as to chart culture contact between Africans living in close and continuous contact with Europeans for many generations. It is set in a background of a knowledge that these people are the descendants of slaves brought over from different nations in West Africa and the Congo and who, therefore, represented different African cultures and spoke different languages.

It has been clearly indicated in studies of West African and Congo cultures that religion is an indispensable aspect of the cultures of these peoples. The concept of religion as a focus of these cultures has been developed through the work of Rattray, Herskovits, Bascom, Greenberg and others.[2]

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1 It should be noted that at the conclusion of this study it was clearly indicated that cult activities were restricted to subtracts #11 and #21 in this community, and that people living in subtracts #24 and #26 were more involved in European churches than in cult activities.

2 Rattray, 1923, p. 139; Herskovits, 1948, p. 542; Bascom, 1950, p. 64; Greenberg, 1946, p. 69. (Rattray is included because of his thorough documentation of the Ashanti from which a hypothesis of cultural focus can be made. Rattray himself did not postulate such a hypothesis.)

In Jamaica, Beckwith, Williams, and Kerr have already recorded extensive activity and interest in religion.[1]

Acculturation processes were described by a committee of the Social Science Research Council in 1935;[2] and subsequently restated by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits,, are highlighted in an area where African cult gods in Jamaican Cumina ceremonies have names like Oto, on the one hand, and Moses or Cecil, on the other.[3] Within the two major cult groups considered in this study, Bantu gods like King Zombie-Oto and gods with Ashanti day names like Cudjo, often dance in possession at the same ceremony. Moreover, Moses and John the Baptist may "trump and labor" at a Revival service, while Christian hymns are sung by the congregation; or they may be invoked by an obeah man of either Cumina or Maroon cult groups.

Reinterpretation, therefore, becomes a process within the focal aspect of religion of this Negro culture, and may be discerned in the acculturative situations which exist both between African and European and between the New World versions of West African and Congo cultures. Invention and culture change now permit Cudjo, a Maroon (West African) god, and Manuka, an ancestral zombie of the Cumina (Congo) cult, to dance at the same ceremony, whereas, historically, mountain-dwelling Maroons were used by the British to hunt down Yoruba and Congo slaves of the coastal areas of Jamaica.

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1 Beckwith, 1923, p. 32; Williams, 1932, Ch. I; Kerr, 1952, p. 114.

2 American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, p. 149-52.

3 Redfield, 1941, p. 363; Linton, 1936, p. 335; Herskovits, 1948, p. 523.

Certainly, many of the sky and earthbound gods of the Cumina cult are more the result of invention than of reinterpretation. Zombies like Flash, who is the god of the motion picture projector, are, to be sure, named as the direct result of the borrowing of language; but they are also inventions in Cumina theology. Evidence of syncretism between both European and Asian black magic and African magic is found in obeah men's workings. This is supplemented by retentions visible in enculturative processes, beginning in the early years, whereby infants are exposed to and taught Congo tone and rhythm as part of their religion, and of their day-by-day life, from the time they are nine days old.

That culture is dynamic and extremely variable is an accepted principle, and this study offers additional evidence in support of it, as it does to the statement that the process of acculturation tends to be gradual rather than abrupt.[1]

Five months were spent in the field, divided into two periods six months apart. Except for a few days, the entire time was spent in the Morant Bay area. In addition to intensive interviews with individuals, cult ceremonies were attended and recorded on magnetic tape. The two religious groups which were selected for detailed study offered the most fruitful areas for testing the principles of focus, reinterpretation, and culture change between the two major Negro groups in this parish, and between them and the English-European residents.

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1 Kroeber, 1948, p. 425.

The hypothesis to be tested in this study was derived from work previously done in the Carribean area in similar cultures. The hypothesis is: In a predominantly Negro culture in the New World, where economic, housing, and general living conditions have remained similar to those in West African or Congo cultures, religion can be expected to be the cultural focus of these people.[1]

Living under conditions caused by slavery, and forced contact with Negroes from diverse cultures, as well as Europeans, religion will develop variety under processes best described by syncretism, borrowing, reinterpretation, and invention. Because of the toughness and viability of African religion in the New World, Negro religious cult groups in Jamaica will retain some elements of African religious expression. Such elements as animal sacrifice, use of blood and liquor for the feeding of gods and ancestors, possessions, stylized and orderly, instruments, music, and dancing should be found in these cults that can be related to African patterns.

A further hypothesis is that acculturative differences will be found where a Negro culture comes into direct contact with Anglican or Methodist services and theology, which will have essential differences from similar contacts with Roman Catholic or Baptist churches. It can be assumed that River services and River gods will be dominant in Baptist areas; syncretism between Roman Catholic saints and African gods in Roman area; and use of saints and objects such as the Bible and Prayerbook as inventions, or reinterpretations, in Anglican or Methodist areas.

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1 Herskovits, 1948, p. 485.

TABLE I

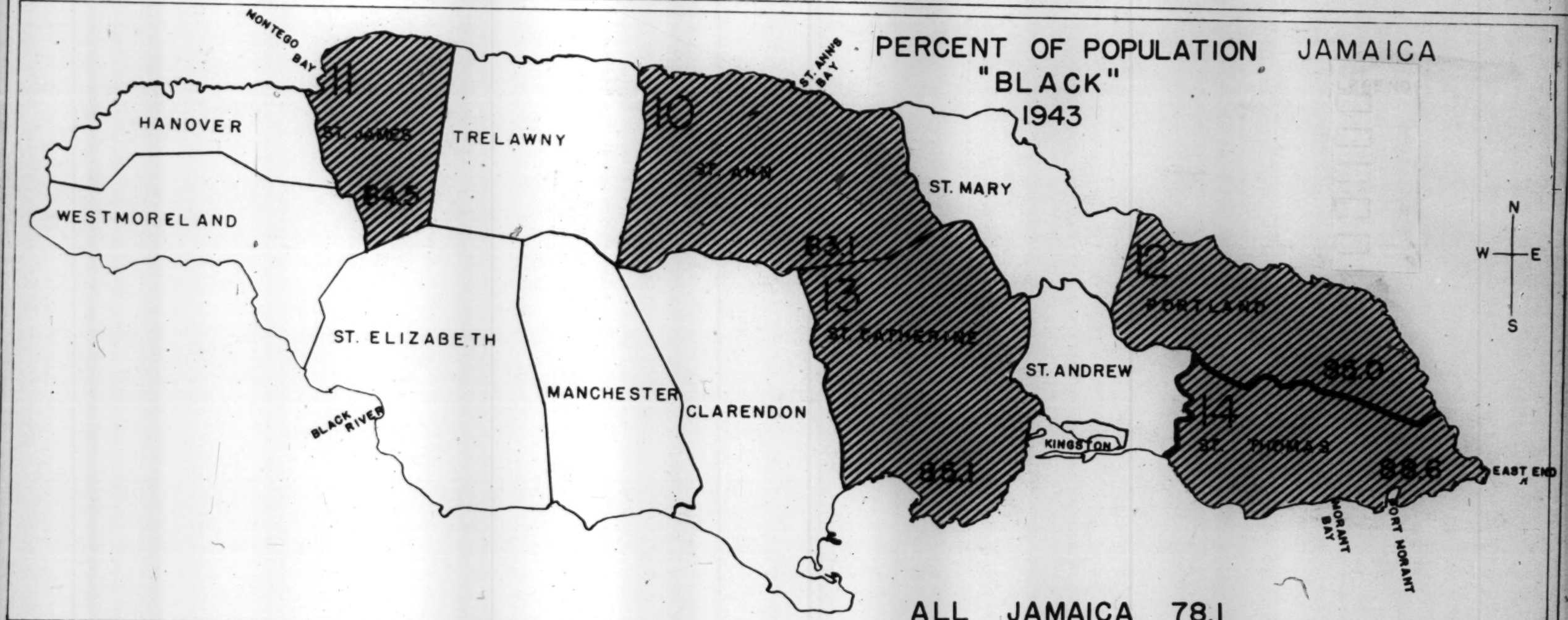

PERCENT OF POPULATION JAMAICA
"BLACK"
1943
MONTEGO BAY
ST. ANNS BAY
HANOVER
ST. JAMES
TRELAWNY
ST. ANN
ST. MARY
WESTMORELAND
ST. ELIZABETH
MANCHESTER
CLARENDON
ST. CATHERINE
ST. ANDREW
KINGSTON
PORTLAND
ST. THOMAS
BLACK RIVER
EAST END
PORT MORANT
MORANT BAY
11
84.3
10
83.1
13
88.1
12
88.0
14
88.6
N
W
E
S
ALL JAMAICA 78.1

TABLE 2

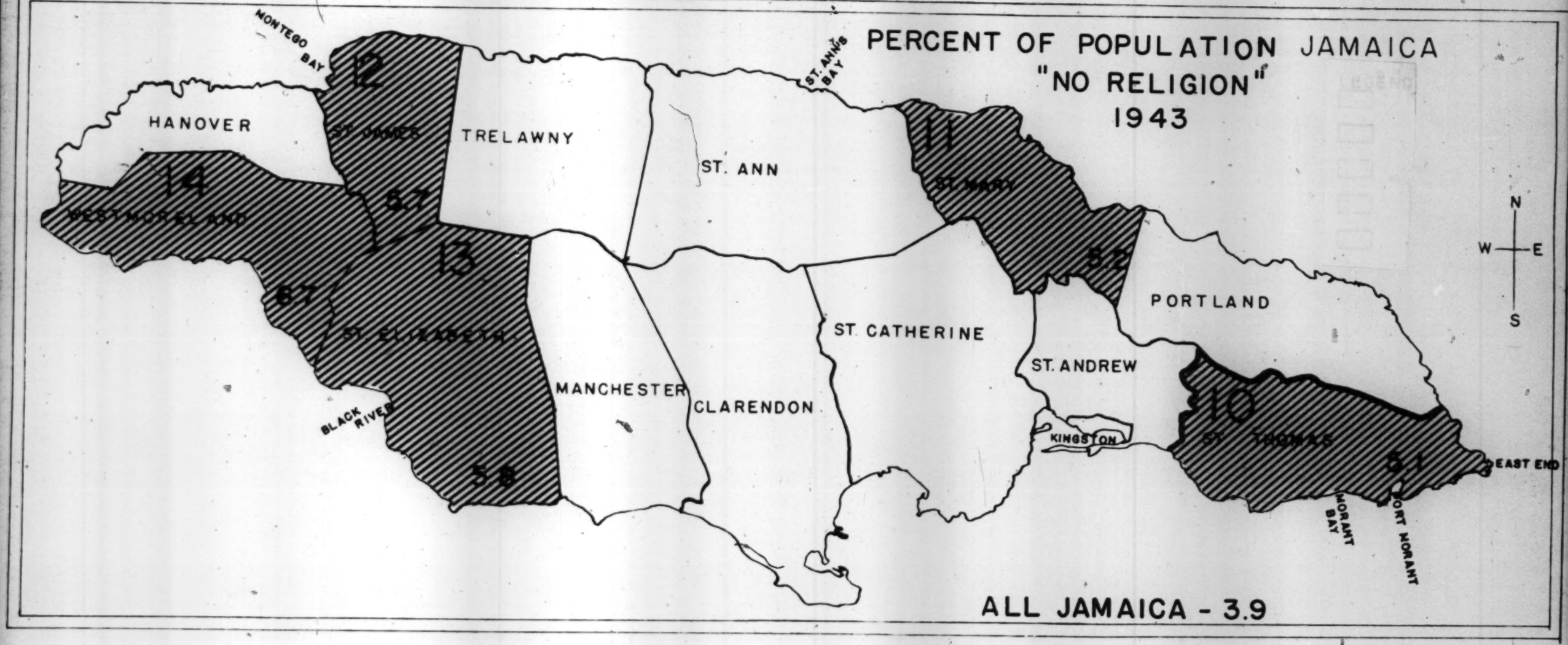
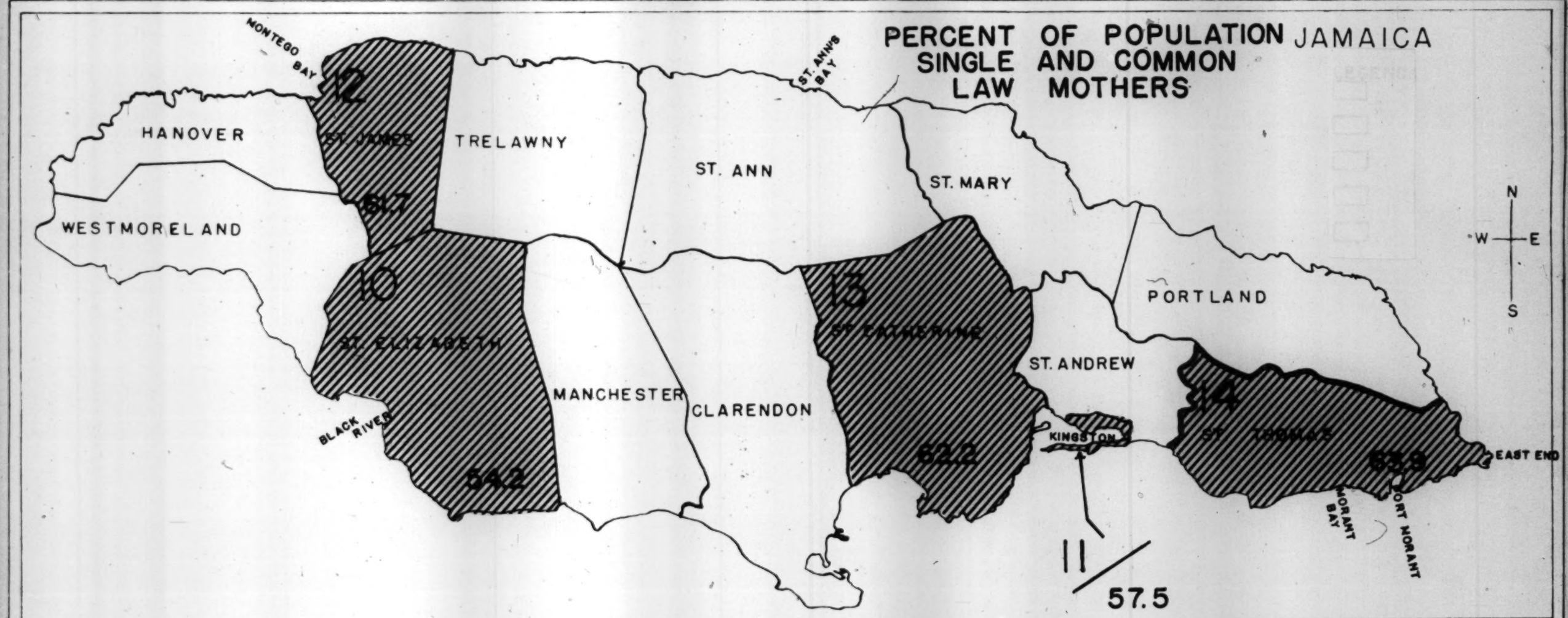

PERCENT OF POPULATION JAMAICA
"NO RELIGION"
1943
MONTEGO BAY
ST. ANN'S BAY
HANOVER
ST. JAMES
TRELAWNY
ST. ANN
ST. MARY
PORTLAND
WESTMORELAND
ST. ELIZABETH
MANCHESTER
CLARENDON
ST. CATHERINE
ST. ANDREW
KINGSTON
ST. THOMAS
EAST END
PORT MORANT
BLACK RIVER
12
14
8.7
13
6.7
11
8.2
10
8.1
5.8
N
W
E
S
ALL JAMAICA - 3.9

TABLE 4



ALL JAMAICA 54.4

TABLE 5

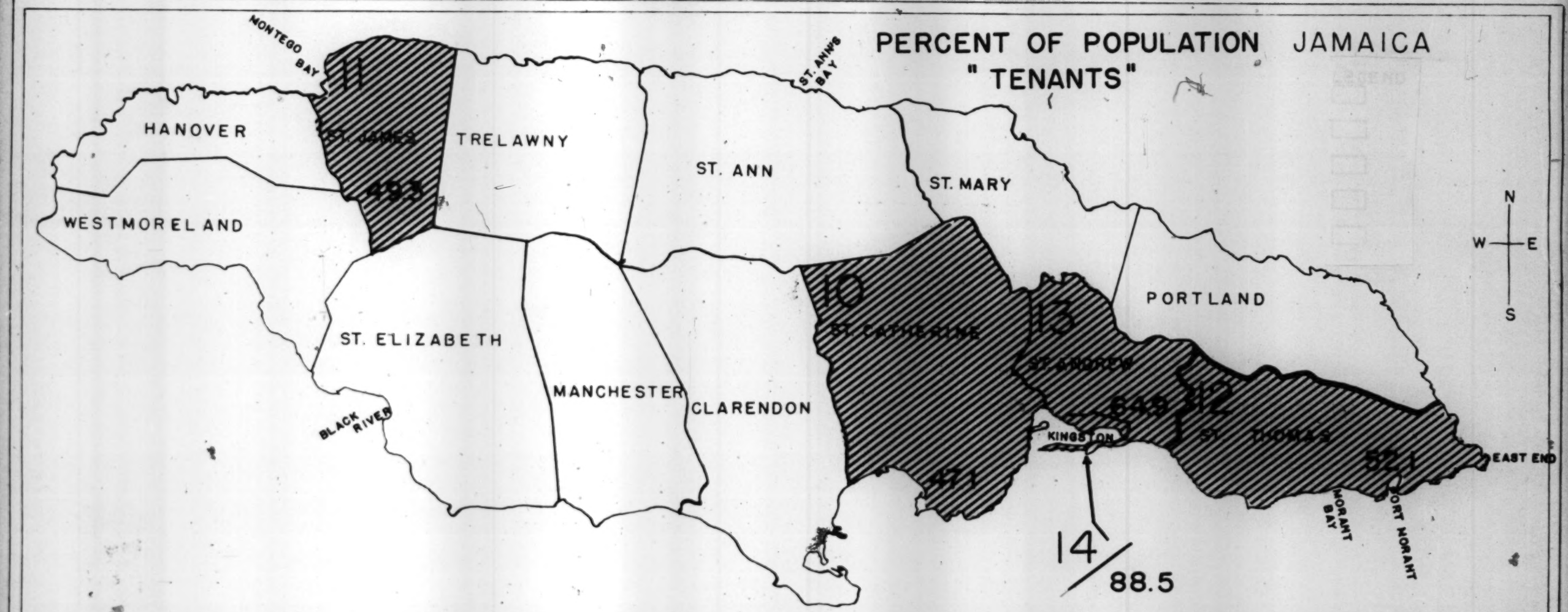
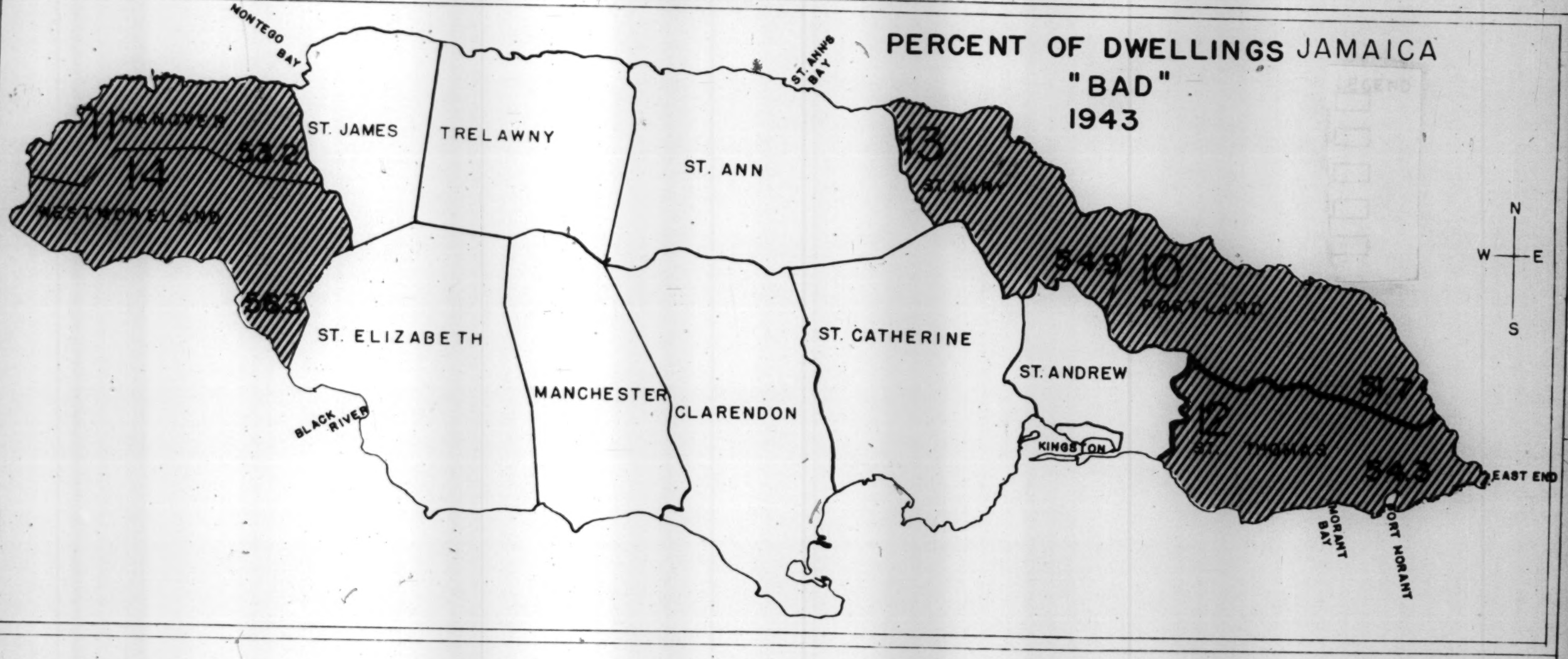

PERCENT OF POPULATION JAMAICA
" TENANTS"
MONTEGO BAY
ST. ANN'S BAY
HANOVER
ST. JAMES
11
49.3
TRELAWNY
ST. ANN
ST. MARY
WESTMORELAND
10
ST. CATHERINE
13
ST. ANDREW
PORTLAND
ST. ELIZABETH
MANCHESTER
CLARENDON
64.9
12
ST. THOMAS
KINGSTON
47.1
32.1
EAST END
BLACK RIVER
MORANT BAY
PORT MORANT
14
88.5
N
W
E
S

TABLE 6


PERCENT OF DWELLINGS "BAD" 1943
JAMAICA
MONTEGO BAY
ST. ANN'S BAY
HANOVER
11
14
33.2
WESTMORELAND
58.3
ST. JAMES
TRELAWNY
ST. ANN
13
ST. MARY
54.9/10
PORTLAND
ST. ELIZABETH
MANCHESTER
CLARENDON
ST. CATHERINE
ST. ANDREW
KINGSTON
ST. THOMAS
BLACK RIVER
EAST END
PORT MORANT BAY
PORT MORANT
N
W
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S

CHAPTER II

ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA ON MORANT BAY AND JAMAICA

The island of Jamaica, although lying within the sub-tropics of the north, benefits from a mild climate, avoiding the extremes of temperature found across the Gulf of Mexico on the mainland of North America. Its high mountains and broad plains provide diversity in climate and agriculture, and its numerous rivers add to the beauty and economic value of the total island. It stretches 148 miles in length and varies from 22 to 52 miles in width. There are many excellent harbors on all sides so that produce and goods may be shipped directly from nearby points.

Hills and mountain regions form the center of the island, ranging from the Cockpit country of the west, to the high John Crow and Blue Mountains of the east, which rise to more than 7,000 feet. The plains along the shores are broad and easily drained; these, and the tillable land at higher levels, permit great diversity of agriculture. Crops range from those normally found in the sub-tropics to such fruits as apples, normally a temperate climate product.

Rainfall varies from 28 to 30 inches around the Kingston and Spanish Town area, to more than a hundred inches in some of the mountain areas. The climate ranges from hot in the dry plains area, to cool in the mountainous territory; it is never as warm as New Orleans or Houston in the summer and the winter climate might be compared to spring in the south of the United States.

Pondorosa trees, gardenias, coconuts, bananas, and tropical fruits are found throughout all the coastal regions of the island. In the mountains some pine and other hardwoods may be found. There are swamp regions in the southwest and southeast which are the source of malaria in these regions, but these are being rapidly brought under control. In general, drainage is good and public health and sanitation efforts have resulted in clean towns and cities.

Although originally peopled by Arawak Indians, the population of the island today is predominantly Negro with the percentage of the population recorded as "black" showing a slight increase since 1911. Conversely, in the same period the portion of the population recorded as "colored" has been falling.[1] That part recorded as "white" has been decreasing since 1881 when its percentage was placed at 2.5. The total population of Jamaica in 1943 was 1,237,063.[2]

There has been no substantial change in the East Indian population since 1881 when it was 1.9 percent of the total population. The Chinese, on the other hand, have increased from .1 percent in 1891 to 1.0 percent in 1943.[3] The East Indian population was brought to Jamaica as indentured laborers during a period lasting from 1845 to 1869. The Chinese came in two periods, the first in 1853 and 1854 and the second between

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1 Census 1943, op. cit., p. XLIX
The "black" population in 1881 was 76.5 percent of the total population and in 1943, 78.1 percent; the "colored" population in 1881 was 18.6 percent of the total population and 17.5 percent in 1943.

2 Ibid., Table 46, p. 92

3 Ibid., Table 48, p. 93

1880 and 1884.[1]

There is considerable mixing of the several racial stocks with the Chinese-Negro mixture four times greater proportionately, than the Indian-Negro, or the European-Negro blending.[2] The present trend is toward increasing percentages of Negroes ("black" population).

The first Africans were introduced to Jamaica as slaves and brought over by the Spanish in 1517; many of these were taken away again by their owners when the Spaniards were forced to leave. Most of the ancestors of the present population were brought over by the British from 1655 on, and the bulk of this group arrived between the years 1735 to 1834, when slavery was abolished. Most of the slaves came from West African and Congo tribes. Later, from the same areas, came a considerable number of indentured, free African agricultural workers, during the period directly after the abolition of slavery.

When the British finally wrested the island from the Spanish in 1655, the Spanish fled but the Portuguese and other European planters remained. The British reported the population at that time to be 1500 whites and several thousand Negroes. In the same year, a considerable number of Negroes escaped to the Cockpit country in the west and the mountains in the east, forming a group which became known as the Maroons. Under capable leadership, the Maroons were able to repulse the English and maintain their freedom in these two sections until finally forced to make a treaty on March 1, 1738 in the western Cockpit country and on June 23, 1739, in the eastern mountain area.

Under the British, the island's agricultural development advanced

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1 Ibid., Table 49, p. 93

2 Ibid., Table 47, p. 92

sharply and a large number of slaves were imported from West Africa. A census of 1788 indicates that the population included 30,000 whites, 10,000 free Negroes, 1,400 Maroons and 250,000 slaves. The economy of the island had changed very little; rum, cotton, sugar, coffee, spices, cocoa, and wood were the principal products. The one exception to this was that, under the British, slave trading had become a major industry. The two centers of slave trade on the market, between 1792 and 1799, imported 85,000 slaves from Africa and exported 10,500 to the United States and British West Indian islands, while Montego Bay, during the same period, imported 11,000 and exported 600.[1]

The nineteenth century in Jamaica witnessed ceaseless struggle on the part of the African people for freedom; there were frequent escapes from slavery and extensive use of the Maroons to hunt down escaped slaves. The abolition of slavery occurred in 1834, and was followed by the use of indentured workers from India and China.

A subsequent series of rebellions culminated in the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865. This revolt was put down with a great show of strength; hundreds of people were killed and the leader, Paul Bogel, was hanged.[2]

Today, there are two major political parties and a representative form of government with departments who administer the government of Jamaica. Their power is limited since the island is still a Crown

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1 Dallas, 1803, p. 328

2 A number of people in the Morant Bay area have recorded their opinion that unless there is a real change, "Paul Bogel will return again." He is well known at cult ceremonies where he comes as an ancestral zombie to take possession of the body of a dancing zombie for periods of the dance.

Colony with a governor appointed by the Crown.[1]

One of the oldest settlements in Jamaica is the immediate trade area of Morant Bay in St. Thomas parish. Morant Bay, today, is a town with approximately 2,400 people within its proper limits and another 1,200 living in the immediate environs. It is located in the southeastern part of the island of Jamaica and is the seat of the civil government and the largest town in St. Thomas parish.

While much of the history of Morant Bay is unwritten, it derived its name from the Morante Plantation of Spanish days, and has been occupied by Europeans since early in the sixteenth century.[2] After the English seized control it became the principal center for plantations in this part of the Island.

Housing. In Jamaica, eighty-five percent of all dwellings are single residence one story buildings. In St. Thomas parish, eighty-six percent of its dwellings are of this type, and two thirds of these are small, having less than 150 square feet of floor area. Between four to six people live in a house like this, although as many as fourteen people may occupy such a dwelling. About half of the houses are constructed of wood; the other half are wattle and thatch. Galvanized iron is the most desired roof material, followed by wood and finally thatch. In St. Thomas Parish, more than half of the houses have galvanized iron roofs, fifteen percent have earthen floors. The smaller the house, the more likely it is to have an earthen floor.

Some people rent small plots of land and build their own house on

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1 Handbook of Jamaica, 1948, p. 43.

2 Jacobs, 1950, p. 23.

the lot. These lots, called yards, are fenced in by split bamboo pieces.[1] The yards are neat and clean; fruit trees are planted and chickens and hogs are raised if the family can afford them.

The interior of the cottage usually contains a table, several chairs, a bed, and some sort of cabinet for cooking utensils, dishes, and the like. If the house has an earthen floor, it is swept clean and rubbed to a hard finish. Best clothes are carefully hung up in a corner, or a cabinet may be secured to store them. Although the town of Morant Bay has an electric plant, most of the cottages use oil lamps or candles. Windows are never screened, but there are shutters which are always closed for the night. When possible, the buildings are whitewashed.

There are few cisterns; water in the Morant Bay area is secured from community taps. Cooking is done over coke or charcoal fires in iron kettles outside or in a separate structure.

There has been little change from the type of housing described by Beckwith.[2] Wherever possible, wattle is covered with daub which varies from a concrete mixture to clay, which is then whitewashed. There are also a number of row houses in the Morant Bay area. These houses are of one or two rooms, built together, and rented to separate families. Generally, they are of wood and built on posts set into the ground. Families renting in group housing have no land for supplemental gardens and usually sanitary facilities are inadequate. The lowest rent recorded in this study was nine shillings per month, or two shillings per week, which represented between ten to twenty percent of the family's monthly

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1 Beckwith, 1929, Ch. II.

2 Beckwith, 1929, Ch. II.

income.

In the building of a house, the pouring of rum into the post holes and around the ground is still maintained, as Beckwith reported. Also, if the house is a single residence with two rooms, the front and rear door are placed on the same side to catch the morning and evening sun.[1]

Economic life. Morant Bay maintains a large Saturday market. It provides one of the major recreation periods in the life of the area. It is a day of meeting, not only for the farmers, their wives, and families, but all the townspeople including the well-to-do segment of the population. From Friday afternoon until late into the night, trucks and donkeys arrive at the market place, bearing families and produce of all kinds from the rural areas.

Men and women, the entire family, come along, but the women do the selling. Each woman has her own booth which she rents from the Parochial Board. The amount of her rent varies, depending upon where she is located in the market space, and how much area she takes. One of the exceptions to the rule that women run the market is the meat market, which is operated exclusively by men. The only fish sold are codfish and salt mackerel, for fresh fish is sold daily, immediately after the catch, at the fish market on the beach.

The actual cost of food was checked in February and in August of 1950.[2] On the basis of these figures, a family of four would need 32 shillings ninepence per week in order to maintain an 1800 calory diet. An analysis of family budgets of informants in the Morant Bay area

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1 Beckwith, 1929, Ch. II.

2 Appendix B.

indicated that most families earned no more than 30 to 35 shillings per week, many averaged between 25 to 30 shillings per week, and a number averaged less than 20 shillings per week.

The employment of a vast majority of the people in this area is intermittent. Both husband and wife must pool what they manage to earn to make up the family budget. Current wages, in 1950, for full time employment indicated that yard men, working seven days a week, could earn from 8 to 18 shillings per week with room; maid or cook's wages ranged fr m 11 to 18 shillings per week, usually without board and often without room or board.

The fishing industry is locally owned. Pay for the crew is predicated on the catch. The captain, owner of the boat, takes half of the catch and the crew divides the balance. Canoes, or boats, are made from cottonwood trees dug out by hand; rum is always poured before felling the tree and before launching the craft. The canoes which are painted black, are propelled by oars, rather than paddles.

Indispensable to the equipment of a fishing crew are the fish pots or traps. These pots are of varying sizes and are the double box variety previously described by Beckwith in 1924-29.[1] Most of the mesh used for the siding is now chicken wire, but bamboo strips are still used on some pots, especially in the more remote coastal areas. The pots are baited with pieces of fish, oranges, or other fruit, and lowered into the water at varying depths. A long line held on the surface by a cork is the method by which the pots are identified.

Another method of fishing is by means of large nets taken out in

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1 Beckwith, 1929, p. 30.

the shallows by teams of men. The nets are homemade, and made only by men. In fact, the personnel of the entire fishing industry is male, even to the vendors of the fish at the fish market. It is considered bad luck to take a woman out to sea in a canoe. Fishing is an honorable pursuit and fishermen, generally, and captains of the crews, especially, enjoy a large measure of respect in the community. To make a decent living for a crew, a captain must have two 24 foot boats, two to five jackpot traps, and at least 30 small traps. This means the captain must be able to invest from 90 to 120 pounds, and if he adds a seine to his equipment, an additional 60 pounds will be required. Going out three times a week, a captain's income will average from 3 to 4 pounds a week. Because his pots must be replaced from time to time, it costs him about a pound a week to stay in business, bringing his net earnings down to two or three pounds. The crew, dividing the other half of the income, average about one pound, 30 shillings a week for approximately thirty hours work.

In Morant Bay, as in other parts of Jamaica, the skilled trades are highly desired occupations because they offer more income. Only a few young people can have such an opportunity. The apprentice system is generally used, and depending upon the need for workers, the master craftsman can charge more or less to teach a young person his craft. The Morant Bay area provides opportunities for several crafts which provides more income, training, and higher status for a limited number. These skilled workers are in the service and building trades.

The tailor. This trade is generally found in small shops with one master tailor together with a number of apprentices. Apprenticeship

lasts from a year to eighteen months. The more popular tailors charge a fee of 10 pounds, while a tailor in less demand may take an apprentice without charge. The working period is six days a week from 7 A.M. to 5 to 7 P.M. Journeyman tailors start with 1 pound a week and advance to 2½ pounds. Master tailors earn from 5 to 10 pounds a week. The tailors sit on tables in poorly lighted and congested shops.

The shoemaker. The master shoemaker usually works in small shops with a journeyman and several apprentices. The apprentice works for a year to eighteen months without pay and without charge. The working period is six days a week from 7 A.M. to 8 P.M. The journeyman starts at 2 pounds and may earn 3 pounds a week. Master shoemakers earn from 6 to 10 pounds a week.

The carpenter. The master carpenter is often a builder carpenter. The apprentice period is three years in which the first year the apprentice works for nothing, the second for pocket money up to 10 shillings a week, and the third for 1 pound to 30 shillings a week. The working period is five days a week from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. Journeymen earn from 8 to 16 shillings a day or 4 pounds a week. Work is not steady and eight months a year is considered good. A master carpenter earns about 200 pounds a year, or a net income of 4 pounds a week.

The plumber. There are few independent plumbers in the Morant Bay area, because the civil parish owns its own water system and most of the plumbers are employed in the public works. An apprentice must apply for a parish job and must be appointed as an assistant. This status continues until a chance to work as a journeyman develops, which may not

occur for four or five years and sometimes longer. A journeyman earns from 4 to 5 pounds a week.

The electrician. In this area, there is only one journeyman electrician who does not work for the power company. Because of the company, there is no opportunity for a master electrician. For journeymen, pay is uneven; some earn as little as 1 pound a week, while some are reported to earn 5 pounds or more a week.

The painter. The master painter uses the apprentice system. The apprenticeship period is eighteen months with pocket money amounting to 10 shillings a week paid to the apprentice the last six months. Journeymen earn from 8 to 12 shillings a day and work from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. five days a week. There is not much work available as those who have yardmen require them to paint on their own property. Journeyman painters, therefore, do not average more than six months work a year and seldom earn more than 75 pounds a year.

The mason. Masons use the apprentice system but the period is only nine months. A journeyman is paid by the square foot. The scale is 6 pence a square foot for a wall, 3 pence for a floor, and 1 shilling for pillars or high construction.

The tinsmith. In this craft, the apprenticeship period is for one year. In Jamaica, the tinsmith makes pans, pan handles, and stove pipe. It is not a popular trade and, at the time of this study, there were no apprentices in the Morant Bay area. Tinsmiths are reported to average about 100 pounds a year, and often must sell their wares in the Saturday market; another exception to the rule that the Saturday market

is run by women.

The barber. Most barber shops are one-man shops. An apprenticeship period lasts from one year to eighteen months. Journeyman barbers can earn from 2 to 3 pounds a week and master barbers up to 5 or 6 pounds a week. The working period is from 7 A.M. to 8 P.M. six days a week. The charge for a haircut is 1 shilling six pence.

The auto mechanic. This is currently a very popular trade in Jamaica. The apprentice system is used and the apprentice is charged a fee of 10 pounds, normally. Apprenticeship lasts five years with three years of free work, pocket money the fourth year and about 2 pounds a week during the fifth year. Journeyman mechanics are paid 5 pounds or more a week. A master mechanic, with his own shop, can earn from 10 to 15 pounds a week. The working period is from 7 A.M. to 8 P.M. six days a week.

The hairdresser. Hairdressers are women who usually operate their own shops. There is no apprentice system. There are schools for hairdressing in Kingston where courses may be taken. After receiving a diploma from the school, the hairdresser opens a shop. The working period is irregular and earnings are variable. A hairdresser is estimated to earn from 3 to 5 pounds a week.

The dressmaker. Apprenticeship in the dressmaking trade lasts from nine months to a year. All dressmakers are women. A few highly esteemed shops charge the apprentice; most small shops do not. Small dressmaker shops are often operated in the home. Work is piece work and prices

uneven. Small shops usually pay a dressmaker from 2 to 4 pounds a week. The hours are long, determined by light enough to see by, and the amount of business on hand.

Besides the skilled trades, there are two other classifications of work worthy of mention.

Banana boat loaders. These people, mainly women, carry bunches of bananas from truck or train to warehouse, and from warehouse to ship. The pay scale is ½ penny a trip. They work when the work is there and as long as there is work. A ship loading may take from ten to eighteen hours. These loaders, can earn from 15 to 20 shillings each loading if they work steadily and hard.

Men, working from a wharf, load by dory and work together as teams. Their pay is by dory load, and if they work very hard they may earn up to 3 or 4 shillings an hour; to earn this much, they must work at tremendous speed which requires young men in good physical condition. A good crew can earn from 1½ pounds to 5 pounds apiece during a ship loading, working for a period of from twelve to twenty-four hours.

Sugar loaders. Line workers from the warehouse to the boats are paid 1 shilling 8 pence an hour and get about thirteen hours work a ship. Boat workers are paid by the bag (100 pound sacks) and receive 2 pence a bag. If a boat crew can make seven trips to the ship in a loading, each man handles 1,050 hundred pound sacks and earns 3 pounds 10 shillings. The boatmen earn approximately 1 pound 5 shillings handling the boat during one ship loading. In one year, 1949-50, five ships were loaded at Morant Bay.

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The major sources of permanent or seasonal employment in the area of Morant Bay are two sugar mills, one rum plant, several small copra plants and banana warehouses, the sugar wharf, the public works, the civil parish offices, commercial shops and private service positions. In 1943, the occupation groups in St. Thomas Parish were as follows: agriculture, 14,875; quarrying, 19; fishing, 333; forestry, 13; manufacturing, 2,026; construction, 740; transportation and communication, 416; trade, 1,404; service, 3,579; finance, 11; clerical, 227; laborers at odd jobs, 2907.

Family organization. Among the Negroes of Jamaica, the maternal grandmother is often the real head of the family. Family is reckoned by flesh and blood relationship in both the african and Maroon groups.[1] The father of a child is always known, but it is often the grandmother who has the care and responsibility of the children. In St. Thomas Parish, where the area studied was located, the recorded marital status of mothers was as follows: common law, 33.4 percent; single, 30.5 percent; married, 27.8 percent; unclassified, 7.8 percent.[2] Such statistics shed little light on existing family relationships. It is safe to say that children not only know their fathers but feel tied to them by spirit and by blood; if the fathers are not in permanent residence with their children, the children often visit or live with them from time to time. There is no lack of a sense of belonging to a family, and there is a general pattern of being reared in the home of the mother or the maternal grandmother.

When husband and wife live together, the husband is the head of the household, if they are married or if this is his permanent address. If she is a single woman whom he visits, the unit becomes a cooperative responsibility with the woman in a dominant position with the children.

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1 african and Maroon are names used in St. Thomas Parish to denote membership to Negro groups, the african being a group living in the lowlands in and throughout the Morant Bay area. The Maroons in this part of Jamaica are mountain people, who are descendants of the group of escaped slaves who successfully maintained their freedom from slavery.

2 Census, 1943, p. 82.

If such a relationship is terminated and the woman returns to the home of her mother, the grandmother becomes the head of the family.

The people of the Morant Bay area consider conjugal relationships in three general groups. The most desired by women, is marriage, legal and church-performed. The most prevalent is common law, which is accepted generally and frequently formalized. The most informal and variable is referred to as "friending." (Single mothers in Jamaican census.)

Full marriage indicates a certain stability and financial backing. The ceremony, itself, is never simple but a completely formal European church wedding. This requires white bridal veil and gown for the woman, dark suit for the groom; the wedding party must be driven to and from the church; there must be a formal reception in the yard of the bride to which all the friends of both are invited. It is not considered possible to be married without spending at least 25 pounds.

In common law unions, there is sometimes a formal commitment made between the man and woman and the families of the couple. A ceremonial dance may be arranged to further solemnize the occasion.[1] The only exception to full social acceptance of this relationship is in the case of the large Christian denominations which do not allow common law couples full communicant status. That common law relationships can be quite formal is indicated by the scrutiny of the prospective union by both families in many instances. Many of these unions follow prescribed social and ceremonial patterns and are stable marital relationships. Often, a common law union precedes marriage by ten or more years. There are common law unions of thirty years duration in the Morant Bay area;

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1 See Chapter V, Cumina.

many last a lifetime.

The friending relationship is less formal and varies a great deal. It is possible for a man to enter into a friending relationship with a girl after consulting her older sister. Such a relationship often leads to a stabler relationship such as common law or marriage. On the other hand, it can be quite casual with both parties living in their own homes and meeting frequently. In general, the community regards this relationship as normal and any children of such an alliance are accepted. However, the young girl who becomes pregnant in such a relationship is often subjected to a form of censure by her family; she is excluded from her home for a period which rarely exceeds three months. She is always permitted to return long before the birth of her child. Women, after reaching their twenties, regard friending as the least desirable relationship with a man. A woman who sets up a friending relationship with a man often has her rent paid, or at least, can ask him for food money from time to time, and the continuance of the practice of friending would seem to be directly related to the extreme poverty of the people.

Because there are these three types of conjugal relationships, family patterns show variation as well. They will be considered in the following manner: monogamous family, monogamous matriarchal family, and progressive polygamous matriarchal family.

The monogamous family, composed of a father, mother, and children, appear to have a close kinship feeling for the families of both the father and mother similar to European monogamous relationships. The grandparents and great-grandparents are known on both sides of the family, and there are social relationships with cousins, aunts, and uncles.

Usually, this type of family is found in upper economic groups, beginning with the skilled worker. The father is the head of the house in the European sense, while the mother is respected but has little authority.

The monogamous matriarchal family, composed of father, mother, and children, expresses a feeling of flesh and blood kinship through the mother and her line. In this type of family, it is believed that one's flesh comes from the mother; the blood comes from the mother, or the mother and father; but the spirit comes from the father and his line. Often, certain food tabus are followed which are related to the father's family. There is a sense of a larger family, spiritually through one's father, physically through one's mother; but the larger family, (referred to as branch or nation, similar to clan in nature) is based upon the mother's ancestry.

The following statements from members of the <u>african</u> group further strengthens the statement that there still remains a feeling of clan consciousness among these people.

> You get your body from your mother. <u>Beezie</u> (<u>bizi</u>) is the word for body. We call blood <u>deebu</u> (<u>dibu</u>). Mother and all mother's family are known as <u>deebu</u>. My <u>deebu</u> are my mother and her sisters and brothers, her mother and all her children.
>
> We get our spirits from our fathers. Spirit is called <u>kanuba</u> (<u>KANUBA</u>). <u>Kanuba</u> comes from father, his father and father's father.
>
> I can't eat corn meal. My <u>deebu</u> will not allow it. I got nothing to avoid for my <u>kanuba</u>. My spirit line likes goat and fowl. They like to eat lots of it.
>
> The <u>african</u> gods are from tribes and nations. Take <u>Manuka Vola</u>, he is a great ancestral zombie who now is so strong he become a strong earthbound god of the whole <u>Congo</u> nation. There are five divisions or groups in the <u>Congo</u> nation. We got <u>moyenge</u> who <u>Manuka Vola</u> serves since he is the head of this group; we got <u>machunde</u> (<u>MAŠVNDI</u>); we got <u>kongo</u> (<u>KANGO</u>(; we got <u>mondogo</u> (<u>MJNDOGO</u>);

we got the mumbaka (MVMBAKA). All of these groups are deebu groups.

Manuka Vola does not like corn so no moyenge can eat corn.
machunde can not eat casava.
kongo can not eat potatoes.
mandogo do not like plantain, it make them sick, probably die.
mumbaka can not eat banana.

moyenge can marry many people but it is best to marry kongo.
mondogo should marry mumbaka, the gods like this very much.
machunde should marry kongo.
Manuka Vola serves all african Congo groups so moyenge can marry into any of the other four groups and the gods will like it very much.

The progressive polygamous matriarchal family is matrilocal in the sense that the grandmother is really the head of the family and raises the children. The children of the family are the result of temporary friending relationships entered into by the grandmother's daughters, and are raised together as one large family. One family will serve as an example of this. In this family there were three girls who had, between them, seven children by seven men. Each child knew who his father was, and in some instances, was acquainted with him. Beyond an acknowledged interest, however, none of the fathers assumed much, if any, economic responsibility for their children, nor did they take any responsibility for their training. The children appeared to be influenced only by the mother and the grandmother's family.

It can also happen in a progressive polygamous matriarchal family that a woman will set up a separate household where she will live with her children. The man with whom she is in a friending relationship and who is the father of her children, visits the family regularly, pays the rent and often helps pay for the food as well. However, the mother's family maintains a close relationship with the children, and one of the

mother's brothers may even assume the actual responsibility for the care and training of the children. Individual situations may vary somewhat, but in any case, the children are not likely to know the father's family. If the father is married, or living permanently with a common-law wife, she will know of the friending relationship and it is most likely that she will disapprove of it.

It should be noted that where there was a union between an _african_ mother and _Maroon_ father, the children, living only with the mother, followed her religion and gods. If the children lived with both the father and mother, they followed _Maroon_ gods. This supports the statement often made that many institutions changed during slavery when children were raised and trained solely by the mother.[1] In Jamaica it is possible to check the differences between individuals raised in, and out of, contact with their fathers. One man, who is the son of an _african_ mother and a _Maroon_ father, knows his father and where he lives although he never visits him. When asked if his father had anything to do with his early training, he replied, "No. My father... was a cook on a ship and I never see him until I was a big laddie and going to school, so I never get any training from my father." This man is an _african_ drummer and dancer and knows nothing of _Maroon_ gods or language. Another man with an _african_ mother and a _Maroon_ father, raised in a monogamous family described himself in the following words:

> I am a _Maroon_ because I get my spirit from my father. A person is made up of blood which we call _jobo_. He got _shref-shref_, which come from the father's family alone, which is spirit. You get that

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1 Herskovits, 1947, p. 15.

> You get that from your father and his father. My shref-shref is very strong because it comes from the Maroons. I got Ibo jobo and Maroon jobo. My mother comes from the Ibo tribe. My yenconcon come from my mother. Yenconcon is flesh. I know my mother's mother and her family. I know the children, too, for they are my cousins. They are Jamaican Ibo. My own brothers and sisters are Maroon-Ibo, but the Maroon is very strong, especially strong in the Maroon shref-shref. I know my father's father and his father, too. Him come to gangfrara. Him is a jah.

Gangfrara is the Maroon word for cult member and jah is the Maroon word for god.

Birth, marriage and death rituals. The variation in family types makes for variation in the individual's early training, but in Jamaica there is no lack of sense of family nor lack of training. The family, which includes the ancestors, welcomes each child that is born into it.

Birth, marriage, and death are all dignified by ceremonial behavior. To be careless of prescribed duties at the time of birth or death is to set in motion serious consequences; respectful adherence will protect the individual and the family.

When a child is born, the umbilical cord is cut and taken by midwife, friend or relative of the mother to be and buried at the base of a cocoanut tree. Sometimes, alternatively, the cord is placed in rum and kept there for nine days in the room with the baby, which is the period of time before the baby is brought out of the house for the first time. In any case, the cord is always buried and the tree becomes the "natal tree" of the child and remains so throughout his life.[1] Among

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1 The term "natal tree" is used by Jamaican Negroes to denote the cocoanut tree under which the umbilical cord is buried. The fruit of this tree belongs to the child.

the "black" population of Jamaica it would appear that everyone has a natal tree. The relationship between an individual and his natal tree varies; it may be the mark of selfhood, the status of a human being symbolized by such a tree; or it may be considered to be the resting place of the person's own spirit, or duppy, given to him at birth to watch over him and guard him from harm.[1] Regardless of the ownership of the land, natal trees are respected. Usually, the tree will be on the land of a member of the family or a friend. No matter how the natal tree is interpreted, it has special significance for the human being for which it stands. If it bears fruit, it is a sign of good luck, or that the spirit world is favorable to the individual; if it bears poorly, it is a bad omen and needs careful consideration and treatment. It is extremely serious if anything happens to the tree, for there is then no assurance that the personal spirit, or duppy, will ever be satisfied again.

The care of the afterbirth is also of immediate concern following delivery. It is buried, sometimes by the midwife but more often by a female member of the family. The usual place chosen for burial is in the ground directly under the house where it is considered more difficult to reach or disturb. Many consider the afterbirth as having strong magical power; therefore it is buried promptly to prevent any evil use of it by obeah men.

After a child is born, an open Bible is laid on its bed or a chair near the door. This procedure is carried out as a guard against any evil force which might do harm to the child. The child and mother remain in the house for nine days during which time every care is taken to keep them well and happy.

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1 See p. 33.

To lose a child is doubly regrettable; children are welcomed and loved; but beyond that, the duppy of an infant taken by death before the end of the nine-day period is greatly feared. Such a duppy has no knowledge of his family nor his background and, therefore, can be used by obeah men for any purpose, even against his own family.

On the ninth day after birth, the family arranges a greeting ceremony for the child. These ceremonies vary from what would seem to be an ordinary European-Christian reception held after a christening, to non-European ceremonies of African origin.[1] In all of these ceremonies, the child and mother are presented to the entire family and to friends and neighbors who come with gifts. Prayers are said and the child is offered to God, and presented to his family, his ancestors, and his friends. In those ceremonies which are more African than European, the child is brought out of the house and laid upon the ground between two drums. Invocation of the zombies and ancestors proceeds in the manner described in a later chapter.[2] The mother witnesses the ceremony from the porch of the house or from a chair in the yard. In this type of ceremony, the gods and ancestors are greeted and fed.[3] The child is annointed with cocoanut oil and sprayed with rum; bits of silver are placed in the child's mouth and gifts of food and money are presented by the relatives and friends. A dancing ring is formed around the child, and as it is a joyous occasion, many ancestral zombies make their presence known by possessing the dancers in the ring. Baptism usually

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1 Herskovits, 1948, vol. i, p. 260.

2 See Chapter V, Cumina.

3 See Chapter V, Cumina.

precedes such a ceremony, although it may not signify the joining of a Christian church. As described later, all infants are baptized in church.[1] Some families give their reason for baptism based on the practice and belief of the Christian denomination to which they belong. A number of others explain that it is a protection from evil spirits or "bad wind"; they do not explain this in further detail, but there is a well-defined feeling that the Holy Spirit will protect the child from injury.[2] Still others express the idea that baptism is a protection against abduction by spirits of the dead (duppies or zombies), or by spirits who have never been human.[3]

Although it will be more fully developed later, it might be well here to explain the meanings attached in Jamaica to the terms "duppy" and "zombie." When a man is born, he has a personal spirit and a duppy spirit. The personal spirit is regarded as a man's personality, whereas the duppy spirit is the shadow of an individual. At death, the personal spirit is believed to go directly to Oto, King Zombie, and never to return to the earth, if in life, the personal spirit has never experienced possession by a zombie. If a person has been possessed by a zombie, his own spirit then takes on a new quality and, at death, joins all ancestral zombie spirits who can return to the earth for duties of various

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1 Chapter V, Cumina.

2 No special teaching was recorded about children born feet first among <u>african</u> Cumina cult members. (All abnormalities are "bad luck.")

3 In Jamaica, even the Baptists, who ordinarily do not believe in or practice infant baptism, are included in this practice and later baptize all members again when they have reached the age of puberty.

kinds; including attending cult ceremonies and possessing living individuals. The duppy spirit, or shadow, remains with the corpse in the grave and comes out of the grave if it wishes; it is especially dangerous if it belongs to the body of a man who had never been a zombie. When the duppy feels that his body has not been buried properly, it is believed that he becomes restless and dissatisfied. He may then leave the grave to walk the face of the earth for any evil purpose that may occur to him. It is for this reason that the duppy is to be feared and guarded against.

An individual, then, is made up of flesh, blood and spirit. The spirit has two parts: a personal spirit that always lives within the man or woman as long as he or she is alive, and a spirit that "walks along beside him," described as one's shadow. A zombie is a god, or an ancestor who was once possessed by a god or another ancestral zombie, or a living being who has been possessed by one of these. In the broadest sense, both duppy and zombie can be considered as spirit. However, the word, "spirit" is not precise enough to be used in the context of the present material.

Living dancers and drummers who have been possessed are described as people who have had their "heads turned," at which time they join the ranks of the zombie world. It is clear that what is considered to happen in possession is a phenomenal change of the personal spirit; it is described as being like an electrical shock, and once accomplished, is ~~indel~~ible.

Marriage and betrothal are suitably ceremonialized. It has already been mentioned that a European church wedding is the most desired and

carries the greatest amount of social prestige.[1] However, if the families are members of a Cumina cult group, a ceremony of betrothal may be held. This ceremony actually marks the establishment of a common-law relationship, arranged by agreement between the families of the two parties involved, and formalized at a reception set up in the yard of the bride's family. Such a reception can also follow a formal Christian church marriage.

In preparation for this ceremony, a dancing booth is constructed in the yard for the nuptial dance. After a ritualized announcement by the girl's father, the drums are invoked, sprayed with rum, tuned, and set up in the ring, at which time the sky gods, earthbound gods, and ancestral zombies are greeted ("drummed into the heads of the drums") and fed.[2] Then, the dance proceeds and, at the height of the ceremony, the bride and groom dance together in a special dance. All of the dancers always move around the drums in a counter-clockwise direction. Steps are improvised by the dancers as inspired by the drums. Possessions, through which the ancestral zombies and gods attend and dance, occur, and the dance may continue until sunrise. At the conclusion of the dance, the newly joined couple leave for their new home, satisfied that they are effectively supported in their new life by their entire family, living and dead.

A third group of ceremonies is concerned with death. If the family of the deceased belongs to a Christian church, the body of the

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1 See also Beckwith, 1929, p. 63, and Kerr, 1952, p. 107.

2 See Chapter V.

person who has died is taken from his bed, laid upon a wooden slab, and prepared by careful washing. He is then dressed and returned to the bed. Even though they are no longer understood, definite procedures, with little variation, are followed. The following description will illustrate the generally followed practice:

> As soon as the man die, you take him and wash the body and then you shave him if the body is a man. Some family bathe a little in the water of a dear one died. Mostly today the water is thrown away on the ground and never put down any drain cause this water that has touched a dead man, maybe has the soul in it. If he have children, you pick them up and pass them three times over the body, then the spirit will notice and take better care of the kids.[1]

Death-water must be disposed of carefully, for it is believed to have many uses in black magic. The body remains in the bed until just before burial when it is placed in a rough box. While the body is in bed, seldom longer than twenty-four hours, a watch is set up during which time the family and friends construct the box. Proper boards are selected and rum is sprayed on them, after which the building takes place in the yard.[2] If the one who died was a member of a church, a bell is tolled. If he was a member of a lodge and the house is small, the body may be taken to the lodge hall. Most dead, however, are kept in their own yards.

Wherever the dead one is, there the family stays and the watch is kept. Friends come bringing food and rum. In the old days, it is reported that there were lavish feasts on such occasions, but now "the

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1 Cf. Herskovits, 1947, p. 301.

2 Spraying of rum is always by the mouth.

work is so hard," meaning there is so much poverty, that this is rarely possible. Food and drink are brought, however, and some people bring money although it may be a sixpence or less.

When evening falls, the first of the nine-night ceremonies are begun in the yard of the family. Friends and relatives sit around the yard, and the program consists of conversation and eating interspersed with the singing of Sankey hymns and the reading of Scripture until daybreak.[1] In the morning, the grave is dug and prepared, and again, rum is used. It is sprayed upon the ground and drunk by the workers. If the dead person was a member of one of the burial associations, the body is then carried to the church where the service is read by the minister. If not, the body is placed in the box and carried into the yard where the burial service is conducted by a minister or a friend. Then the coffin is carried to the grave and covered with earth.

> Close friends dig the grave and cover it over. First you got to pour rum into the ground and spray it as the grave is dug. This is an old custom. Lots of spirits live there and they like rum. Otherwise, they often make obeah at the grave. They dig up the body and cut things off the body and use it.

After a brief committal service at the grave, the family and party come back to the yard where a watch is kept throughout the nine-night series of ceremonies. Decent burial and the nine-night observance is so important, that unless all is done properly, the dead person will not find rest. Souls that cannot find rest are dangerous; they are the spirits who roam at will, making trouble because they are unhappy.

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1 Ira David Sankey (1840-1908) was an American hymn writer and evangelist. He gave his name to gospel hymns generally used throughout the new world.

If the family of the deceased belongs to one of the cult groups outside organized Christianity, such as the Christian-related Revival group, there is very little deviation from the routing just described. However, along with the making of the box and the digging of the grave, goes the construction in the yard of a simple covered booth. A preparatory service is held in this booth in the morning before the funeral. After burial, the nine-night ceremonies proceed while the family prepares for the first memorial service held for the departed. At this memorial service, a mourning table is set and a minister of the Revival cult, known as a shepherd, comes in to conduct the service. The first memorial service can be at any time during the first three months after death and will be described in a later chapter.[1]

If the family of the deceased is not Christian, but belongs to the african Cumina cult, the preparation of the body will proceed according to the following description:

> First thing that happens when a man dies, they take him off the bed where he die, and make a next bed for him and put him on it. Then a man come and they make him up. Make him up means that they take something, a piece of calico about eight feet long and they pass it to the head and to the feet and around in back and tie it around the body. During the while the dead inside laying down on his new bed, they start to build the coffin. They buy rum and calico and cut rosettes and get straw. This they put in the box and quilt the straw. The straw is put inside the bag made of the calico and quilted. When the box and quilt done, we bathe the body before putting him in the box. After we put him in the box, stranger or friend who feels the mind to look on him, they come and look on during the while he is in the coffin.

When a member of this group was asked what was done with the death-water, he said:

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1 See Chapter IV, Revival.

> We carry it to the corner of the yard and throw it down in one place. They say it isn't good for one to walk over it. In these days, the grandparents teach us a lot of foolishness. We just adopt it. That is why we believe that; we still keep the old parents' rulings when they bathe the dead the water is not good to step over.

If members of this group can afford it, they hire a minister from one of the small churches to come and read a short service over the body in the yard. If not, a friend reads some Scripture and the group sings a few Sankey hymns. After this, the body is carried to the grave and buried. During the ensuing nine-night observance, instead of Sankey hymns and Scripture, Cumina members engage in what is called "ring play."[1] No drums are used, but members of the family and their friends come to the yard of the dead, play games, dance set dances resembling English folk dances, and entertain themselves with ring dances. This continues each night for nine days until after midnight, sometimes until sunrise. The purpose of this ceremony is to keep the newly deceased spirit happy. When the family can afford it they conduct a ceremonial memorial dance which they call Cumina. The first memorial Cumina may be held within the first year, often on the first anniversary of the death of the individual. There are a number of prescribed ceremonies that follow this first Cumina, all of which will be described in a later chapter.[2]

Development of material on the patterns of the last two Negro cult groups, Revival and Cumina comprises chapters four and five of this

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1 See Chapter V, Cumina.

2 Ibid.

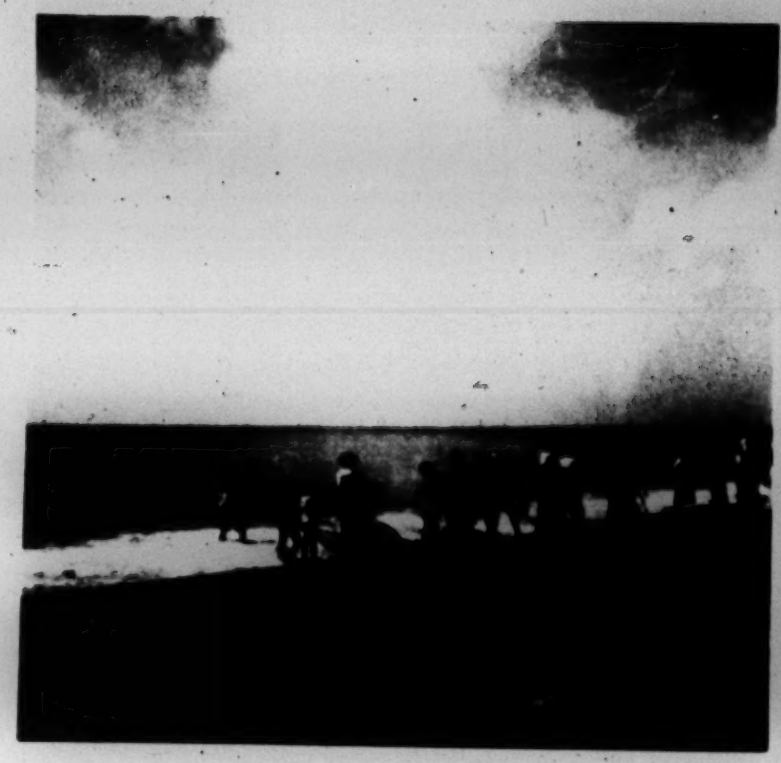
study. It is important however, to discuss the other denominations present in the Morant Bay area, as background for consideration of the two selected for intensive work.

SCENES IN MORANT BAY

PEOPLE

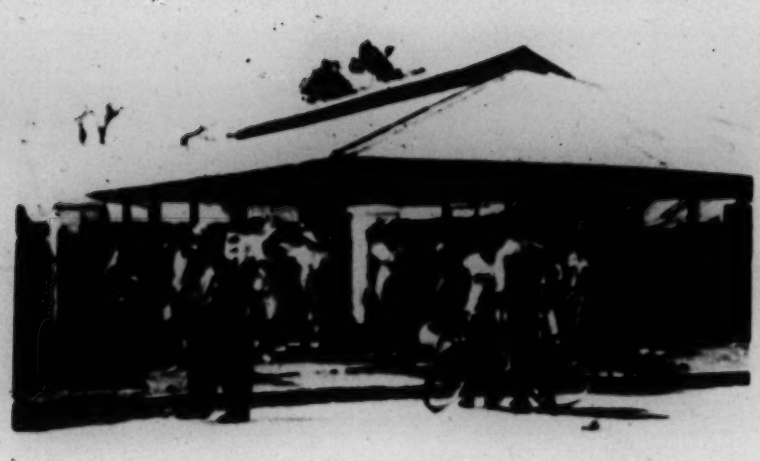
FISHING INDUSTRY

FISHERMAN'S CANOE

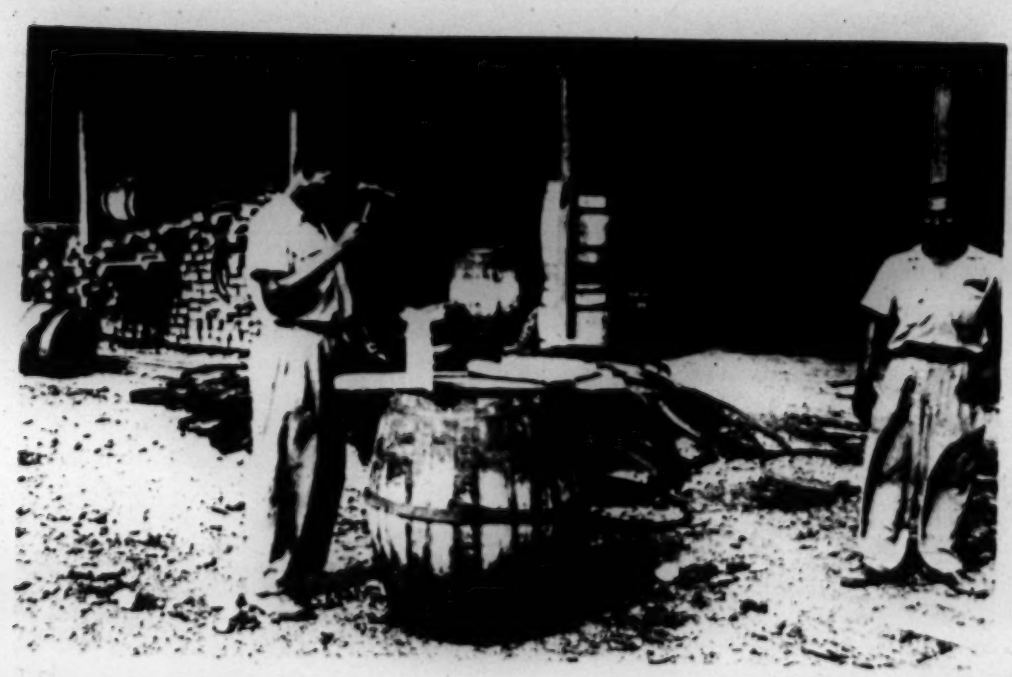


LEADMEN IN FUNERAL PROCESSION

THE MARKET



THE COOPER



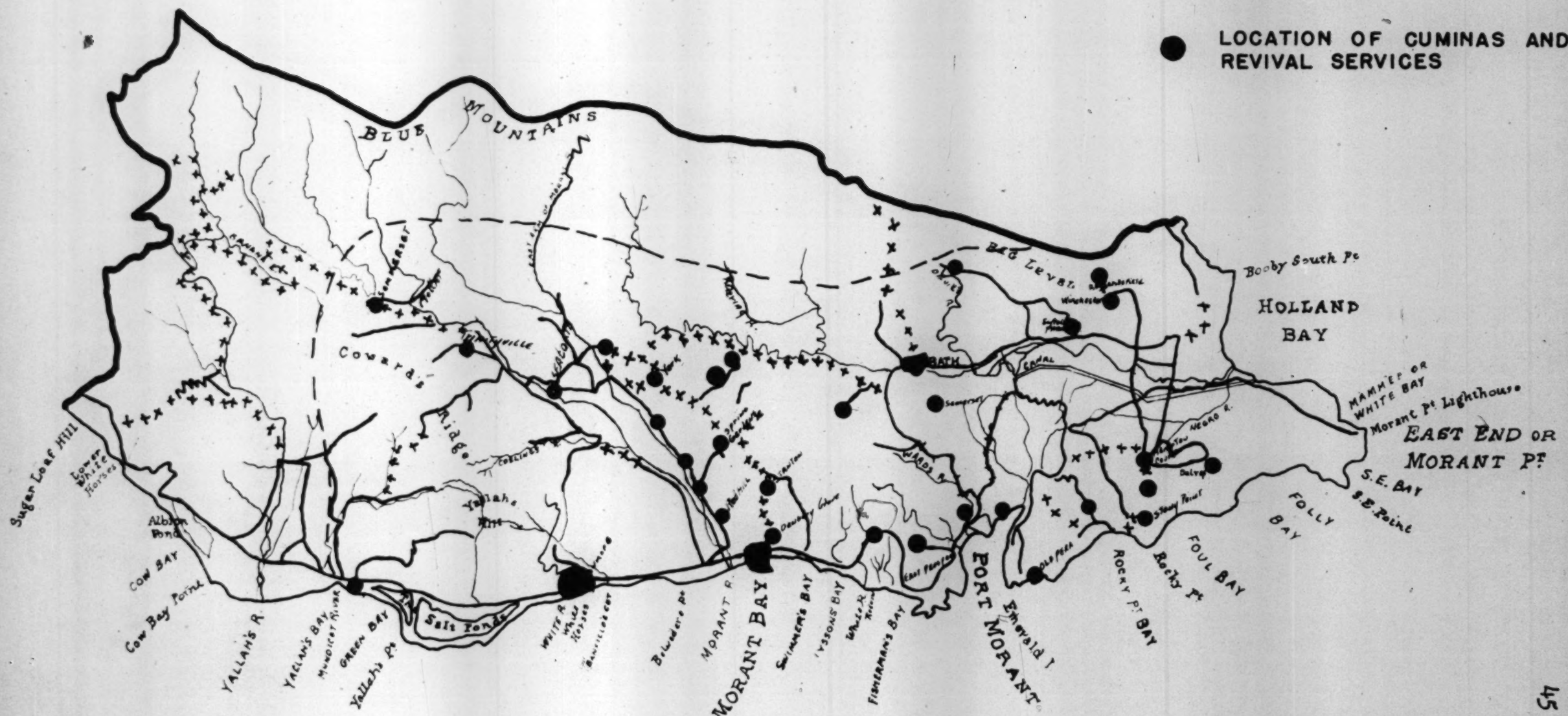
LEGEND

PARISH BOUNDARY

TRADE AREA BOUNDARY

MAIN ROADS

LOCATION OF CUMINAS AND REVIVAL SERVICES



ST THOMAS PARISH

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24
21
27
26

HOSPITAL
MOVIE
CLUB
BANK
POST OFFICE
PUB. SCHOOL
LAND BANK
CEMETERY
POOR-HOUSE
TENNIS CLUB
GAS
COURT HOUSE
ELEC. PLANT
ELDER WHARF
UNITED FRUIT
TEL. CO.
FISH MARKET
CHURCH CORNERS
PUBLIC WORKS
GAS
FISHING BEACH

SUB-DIVISIONS 1943 CENSUS
ROADS
PATHS
CREEK

LAND USE LEGEND

INDUSTRIAL AND PUBLIC
COMMERCIAL
FAIR HOUSING
POOR HOUSING
GOOD HOUSES
CHURCHES
1. 7TH DAY ADVENTIST
2. ROMAN CATHOLIC
3. BAPTIST
4. CHURCH OF ENGLAND
5. METHODIST
6. CHURCH OF GOD
7. OLD SLAVE CHURCH
8. PENTECOSTAL
9. RUIN

MORANT BAY - JAMAICA - 1950

46

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W E
S

24
HOSPITAL
MOVIE
CLUB
BANK
POST OFFICE
PUB. SCHOOL
LAND BANK
27
TENNIS CLUB
GAS
COURT HOUSE
SUGAR WHARF
ELDER WHARF
UNITED FRUIT
TEL. CO.
FISH MARKET
26
PUBLIC WORKS
GAS
FISHING BEACH

LEGEND

GOOD HOUSES

CHURCHES
1. 7TH DAY ADVENTIST
2. ROMAN CATHOLIC
3. BAPTIST
4. CHURCH OF ENGLAND
5. METHODIST
6. CHURCH OF GOD
7. OLD SLAVE CHURCH
8. PENTECOSTAL
9. RUIN

AREAS OF CULT ACTIVITY— 1950

SUB-DIVISIONS 1943 CENSUS
ROADS
PATHS
CREEK

MORANT BAY - JAMAICA - 1950

CHAPTER III

RELIGION IN MORANT BAY

In Jamaica, almost everyone is baptized and church membership is very large. With the Church of England heading the list, the denominations, in order of size, are Baptist, Methodist or Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Moravian, Church of God, Adventist, Congregational, Salvation Army, and numerous smaller bodies.[1]

In the Morant Bay area, the denominations in order of size, are as follows: Church of England, Methodist, Baptist, Roman Catholic, Church of God, Seventh Day Adventist, Salvation Army, Holiness, Pentecostal Holiness, Pentecostal Zion.[2] The Church of England's membership of 779 is 34.5 percent of the total population of Morant Bay. The next largest group, 464 people, claims no religion and totals 20.6 percent of the town. There follow the Methodists and Baptists each with 17 percent and the Roman Catholics with 5 percent. All other religions have less members than the above groups and total only 4 percent of the population.

The census, however, does not give us a good picture of the religious life of the community, for Jamaica is a land of church attendance, whether it be a formally organized church, a street corner

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1 Eighth Census of Jamaica, 1943, p. 140

2 Ibid.

meeting, a roadside preaching meeting, or a ceremony in a yard off the main road. In Morant Bay, traveling evangelists, conducting meetings on the roadside under the great cotton tree in Church Corners, preach to as many people as attend any of the leading churches in town.[1] Many of these meetings attract gatherings of 150 to 200 people. As many people attend Revival meetings held in nearby yards on Sunday evenings. Roadside and yard meetings have been observed in many of the towns in the areas surrounding Morant Bay. Other religious gatherings, known as <u>african</u> Cumina, have frequent Friday night ceremonies attended by between 100 and 600 persons.[2]

Throughout the area, special "power rings" and charms are a commonplace, and obeah men, who are believed to have mystic knowledge and controls, are alternately feared and consulted.[3] Black and colored candles, oils, herbs, and the aforesaid power rings are all available in many of the commercial stores.

For the purpose of looking more closely at the religious groups outside the major conventional Christian denominations, it will be

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1 Church Corners is a section of Morant Bay, Subtract #11.

2 The word <u>african</u> (ƆFRIK'ƆN) is a Jamaican term used by the Negroes of this area in reference to members of the Cumina cult group.

3 Power rings are ordinary metal finger rings consecrated by an obeah man, or blessed by Roman Catholic priests, to serve as guards against harmful spirits. Obeah men are members of cult groups in Jamaica; they are believed to have special powers in working with spirits of all kinds.

useful to arrange them into Christian and non-Christian groupings. Several factors can be used to judge the position of each group. These are: the use of the Bible at services; prayers to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; the use of Christian hymns; a sitting or kneeling congregation; the absence of spirits other than God at services; and the use of the English language exclusively during services. By using these factors, it is possible to rate the religious groups in this community from those almost entirely Christian-European to those which show little or no resemblance to the Christian-European.[1]

Nearest to the recognized conventional denominations is the Pentecostal Holiness Zion Church which came to Jamaica from the United States, and has active mission stations in many parts of the world, including South Africa.[2] It is known in Morant Bay as the Pentecostal Holiness Zion Tabernacle of Church Corners.

The minister, who owns the church building, lives on the premises. He is a Jamaican and believes he was called by God to build this congregation in Morant Bay. During regular church services he "gets the spirit." The spirit he "gets" is the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Christian Trinity, who comes to the meetings of this church and can enter into whomever he chooses. The Holy Ghost can come at other times as well. Quite often, these times will be when the minister is at his private daily devotions, or is working on a

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1 The order from most to least formal among the major denominations is: The Church of England, Methodist, Seven Day Adventist, Roman Catholic and Baptist.

2 Sundkler, 1948, p. 51.

special problem for an individual or a family. The entire church yard is consecrated to the use of the Holy Ghost, and is, as he describes it, "the holy key of power in this community." Normally, services are held on Sunday evenings with Sankey hymns, prayers, psalms, Scripture readings, and a sermon. Ten to thirty people, of all ages, make up the normal congregation.

The church building is an open shed, a building without side walls. Benches are lined up in rows in what would be the nave of the church. A wooden platform constitutes the sanctuary on which is placed a pulpit, a holy table, and a chair for the minister. There is a simple orderliness to the building, and a beauty and charm to the yard around it. Behind the church building is a two-room frame house in which the minister lives. He uses one room for a kitchen and eating room, the other for a bedroom and study. In the study, altars are dominant features. One altar at the head of his bed is a table on which the principal object is a crucifix with the top section of the cross cut off.[1] On this altar are glasses of water, blessed by the Holy Spirit; these keep away evil spirits. The Holy Ghost, the saints, and the prophets are believed to drink from this water. It is this water which the minister uses in his private work during the week. This weekday work involves a number of private consultations, or "workings," as they are called. These sessions may involve faith meetings, protection from evil spirits, divination, or "taking things

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1 The significance of the removed part of the cross was not ascertained.

off people."[1] Vases of flowers, and herbs for specific work, are placed on each side of the crucifix; dishes sit on the altar table with bits of food in them to feed the spirits that may come by. An image of Buddha sits on the altar, for there is East Indian magic to guard against in this area. On the walls hang sacred pictures, certificates, herbs, crucifixes; these are spirit "keys," all with special significance as power units.[2]

The second altar is a shelf built on the wall just inside the entrance, to protect the door of the room. Here, a statue of the Sacred Heart is the central object, surrounded by vases of herbs, glasses of water, small trays of food, and candles.

On both altars are candles which are lighted during workings and at other specified times. These candles serve as guards; their colors are changed as required for the invoking or repelling of various powers (spirits). Vials of oils are kept on both altars together with oil lamps which are kept burning.

The orderly theology of these objects is best expressed in the minister's own words:

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1 "Taking things off people" is the method used to release people from evil forces believed to have been placed on them for the purpose of making them sick, unlucky, unhappy, or in danger of being killed.

2 The word "key" appears frequently in the terminology of many religious groups in Jamaica. It invariably means the control point through which spiritual powers can come. A "key" can be a stone, a shepherd's crook, a cloth, or a specially dedicated church yard.

> The shrine of the Savior of the Sacred Heart must be given an overall interpretation first, and that is holiness. This is a shrine of holiness of all the good powers, and the Savior and the blessed heart is in the center. On the right and left sides, there are flowers and herbs for the worship of this power. This is flanked on both sides by glasses of water to keep the evil spirits away.

The yard around the church is "set in the key of the Holy Ghost," which means that the ground has been consecrated so that the Holy Spirit can enter it at will, and at the same time, it is safe from all evil spirits. The yard contains a natal tree of a young girl; there are urns, crocks, and stones arranged in patterns for feeding spirits.[1]

According to the minister, he can "divine things," look into the future, and cast off devils and evil. A great deal of his work is healing. He does this by bringing people to the shrine in his room and uses "the power of God coming into the shrine." Regarding the work of casting off devils, he describes the way a devil manifests himself:

> Well, it makes one delirious-gifted. It makes him wicked inside in actions and sometimes the devil and evil spirits possess consciousness, make him walk along with a person though the person really isn't there but is walking along, just like a duppy is an evil spirit after you dead and gone.

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1 The feeding of gods and spirits is described in Appendix A.

Varying from the generally accepted description of a duppy given in the preceding chapter, this man believes a duppy to be the soul of a dead man who, instead of going to heaven or remaining at peace, roams the earth at will to do evil things. According to this man, "guards" may be secured which will protect a person from these evil spirits. Such things as crucifixes, rings, or charm-medals may be had from the Roman Catholic priest or from this minister. He believes the best guards against duppies are given out by the priest, but he, also, blesses crucifixes and medals which keep duppies and evil spirits away.

Protective forces, or spirits, are the souls of the righteous, especially the spirit of one's mother and the members of her family, for part of their work is to care for their loved ones here on earth. These "celestial" spirits can communicate with the angels and bring them to serve a living family.

The first of all these angels is the messenger angel, Michael, who was considered to be in charge of the yard of the church and came there often in the cool of the evening to rest from his heavy duties. Also there are cherubim and seraphim whose duties are to "gather the heavenly host when the heavenly host hour is needed." There is the Archangel Prince Emmanuel who is "the protector of the heaven and who rules the heavens up to the seventh heaven, who is not a high god but have power over lightning and thunder, who have power over the sea, the wind, and the river." Prince Emmanuel's function is to guard and support the angels and archangels at all times, for they, themselves, need high protection from evil spirits and powers.

The evil spirits all get their power from the devil. They are the devil's angels, or the fallen angels. The devil "brings all diseases, especially smallpox. He is a crafty, evil force." The following remarks provide some additional insight into this particular minister's theology:

> If a man dies that is not saved and is not too bad a man, his family gives him a cheap funeral and what you think is apt to happen to that man? Well, it is like this. If the man saved, he will do much fussing to have a wonderful procession even though he have a cheap funeral. Because he saved, he won't hold it against anyone. If he is not saved, his spirit will do his wicked work whenever he has been called upon. So many people have big funerals because they don't know whether or not their loved ones have been saved or unsaved. If a man is unsaved and even have a big funeral won't make him feel any better and if he is called upon to do evil work he will probably respond.

The theology, on which the minister of the Pentecostal Holiness Zion Tabernacle of Church Corners bases his work and teaching, contains some Western Christian and some African concepts. Both Christian and African spirits are accepted as equally real and important; both Christian and African methods are used side by side. The people in the community look upon this man as a healer, a "spiritualist," and a diviner of considerable power; some speak of him as an obeah man.[1] It is not unusual to find members of Revival, Pocomania, and Cumina cults in his yard seeking consultation or private workings. In these workings he uses candles and oil like an obeah man of a Cumina group, and he wears a blue and white gown like that of a Revival shepherd.

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1 The term "spiritualist" denotes simply a man who can control the spirits.

He is a bridge leading from the organized Christian type of church into the cults of the area.

Farther from the organized Christian type of church, but still a Christian sect, is the group known as Revival Zion. This group is organized into autonomous bands whose regular officers are appointed by the Holy Spirit who comes to them in a dream and "calls" them.[1] Each band has its own active membership centering around the leaders, called shepherds, or captains, if male, and a shepherdess or mother, if female. Frequently, a band has both male and female officers, but where this occurs they are rarely married to one another; rather, it appears that their association is mainly a religious and ceremonial one.

Members of Revival Zion bands travel around the Morant Bay Trade area as the spirit moves them, staying overnight in the yard of a friend or of a member of other similar groups. When they come to rest in a yard, they engage in private workings, mainly for the purpose of healing. Many of these bands travel constantly. None have church buildings. Some have permanent booths in the yard of a shepherd or a mother which serve as headquarters for the preparation of herbs for healing and as a contact point for those who wish their services.

Revival Zion groups hold two kinds of services, the public and the private. The first are open revival preaching services for the public which are held by the side of the roads or city streets. These services are often conducted by minor officers of the group. The other type of

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1 Beckwith mentions this emphasis on dreams, 1929, p. 159.

service is held in a private yard and is conducted by a leading officer of the band.

Roadside meetings are simple, both in equipment and form. A lantern is carried to the location and a small table covered with a white cloth is set up with the lantern and a Bible on it. The service, primarily a preaching service, consists of hymn singing, Scripture reading, and the intoning of the sermon. During the hymn singing, the male leader and the woman assistant "trump," or dance, around the altar in a counter-clockwise direction.[1] Often, while the preacher is intoning his sermon, the female assistant and others will start to trump around the table which serves as an altar; often, too, members lose control and begin to "trump and labor."[2]

The two leaders of the band (the acting mother and captain) usually wear colored turbans; assistants wear white ones. At the close of the service, money contributions are solicited and a benediction is sung. After this, members of the band remove the white cloth and fold up the table; then, following the one who carries the lighted lantern, they travel along the road. The entire band stays together

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1 Trumping, referred to by Beckwith (1929, p. 162) as "trooping," describes the process of sucking in the breath audibly as the body straightens from a bent position to an upright position while taking a hopping, walking step. Laboring is the term used to describe this same process as it becomes more emphatic and actually develops into an involuntary action.

2 There is an ordinance prohibiting such meetings, but unless they become very excited the police usually leave them alone.

in some friendly yard for the night; during the day they will rest and conduct private workings there.[1]

The second type of service is held in a private yard. In this type, conducted by the head of the Revival Zion band, full trumping and laboring take place and the Holy Ghost comes down to possess the members. Possession by a spirit, which means that the spirit enters and controls the body during the period of possession, is a phenomenon characteristic of all the cults investigated in the course of this study. It is a mark of prestige, a criterion of spiritual knowledge, and a condition required for leadership.[2]

Revival Zion bands are small; they range in size from five to twenty-five members. There were never more than fifteen in any of the bands appearing in or around Morant Bay. Their officers, called shepherds and mothers, seldom wear robes of office at roadside services (except for their colored turbans) but always wear them in the full services held in yards.[3] During the week, members of the band work at laboring or other jobs; some of the more successful develop enough earning capacity in healing, and other ministrations of the spirit, to keep them going without additional work.

An even more loosely knit and variable group in this area is one called "Convince Flenkee." No formal organization at all could be

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1 See Ch. V, p. 157, for discussion of private workings.

2 Possession is discussed in the following chapter on Revival. (Ch. IV. p. 77)

3 See Revival, Chapter IV.

discovered among their membership. All members are equal, and each has his own theology as well as his own spirits. When the members meet together, they form a circle and sing Sankey hymns. There is no altar table, and while some trumping does occur, the more normal mode of expression, for this group, is that of the wheeling member, who at some moment, rises and wheels around the circle. In other words, he spins his body around while he is describing a larger circle. This is the same pattern of motion as that used by the wheeling shepherd who is the principal officer in a Revival cult.[1]

It is not the "Christian" spirits of Revival Zion, but deceased Flenkee members who come back as spirits to possess present active members. These spirits select the particular individuals whom they wish to possess and always come to them. One man had eight spirits whose names were John Andrews, John Walsburg, Cottontree Marsha, Old Tom, Old Seer, John Augury, Bodwen Bough, John Martin and Dummy. He was convinced that these spirits talked to him, but after a possession he could not remember what they had said. He described a service by saying:

> We sit down and talk it out. Anybody get into the spirit now, you call it "old man." You are talking to me with this old man. You can ask me questions when I have the spirit on me; some man ask him questions and he told him his name. The spirit told him his name after he comes. You don't get his name at first; you got to call him old man; then he talk to you, and when he talks back, that is the spirit. When I talk, I don't know anything.

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1 See Ch. IV, p. 84. This also seems similar to the ritual whirling of the Islamic Dervish cult of North Africa.

I talk maybe like Bowden Bough; he come to you at night in your sleep, but he never tell you anything then.

The "Convince Flenkee" cult resembles both Revival and <u>african</u> Cumina groups. The members often dance in Cumina ceremonies, and sometimes, are possessed by zombies (the spirits attending Cumina).[1]

A more important group in this area is a sect known as Pocomania, called by themselves, the Black Israelites. This group is small in number. Their organizational structure, colors, and order of ceremony are similar to those of Revival Zion and Revival; they trump and labor; use Sankey hymns and the Bible. They are looked upon with disfavor by all the other cult groups, however, including the Cumina group. In the view of the Revival and Revival Zion followers, "Poco," as they call it, is devil worship; Cumina followers use the derisive expression, "dry jump," in referring to them, meaning there is nothing of the spirit there. Separated from these groups and rejected by them, they are, nonetheless, a variation of the Revival sect and will be considered as such in the following chapter on Revival.

The differences between the Pocomania group and other cult groups are worth mentioning at this point. Throughout all these groups there is the concept of a key which is invested with particular spiritual power. It may be a consecrated church or church yard; it may be a shepherd's staff. In Cumina, the key is either a black cloth with a white cross on it, or the center post of the dancing booth around which a ring which signifies the area of "power" is drawn.

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1 See Chapter V, Cumina, p.151.

In Pocomania, the key is a "power stone" covered by a black cloth with a white cross on it. The Pocomania service centers around an altar which is either set on a table or laid upon the ground. If the altar is a table, the "power stone," or key, is placed on it. The table is so placed that the stone rests against the center pole of the dancing booth.[1] If the altar is set upon the ground, a series of concentric circles is scratched in the earth, and the key is placed in the center of the inner circle. A second table is set outside this circle and upon it the Bible and lantern are placed.

Another peculiarity of Pocomania practice is the use of strong drink. Unlike Revival, where no drink stronger than milk, water, or Coca Cola is used, the Pocomania shepherd uses a drink which is a mixture of water and white rum into which ganga has been added.[2]

Still another significant difference appears in that part of Revival and Pocomania ceremony which marks the close of the first half of the service. In Revival at this point, food and drink from the altar are offered to all those in attendance.[3] In Pocomania services, as in Revival, this part of the ceremony is called "the smashing of the first altar," but in Pocomania, alone, the careful

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1 A dancing booth is usually a temporary building in which Revival, Revival Zion, Pocomania, and Cumina ceremonies are conducted.

2 Ganga refers to the dried leaves and capsules of Indian hemp (Cannabis indica) containing a narcotic resin and oil prepared for smoking or chewing, and as a drink.

3 Taking place at midnight, this act bears a strong resemblance in form and spirit to the early Christian Love Feast (agape).

arrangement of fruits and candles are disarranged and kicked out of place and some fruits are hurled into the crowd in a spirit of hostility and unrest. It is at this point that the Pocomania cult reveals its most profound difference from other cult groups; after "the smashing of the altar," the "fallen angels" are invoked and the Devil is called upon. The four evangelists of the New Testament (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), the disciples, and many of the major and minor prophets, come to the second half of the ceremony as fallen angels; the two strongest forces in Revival, however--the Holy Ghost and Michael, the Archangel--do not come, but are replaced by Lucifer. It is as fallen angels that these identities possess Pocomania cult members.

The interpretation of one shepherd of this cult suggests that members of his group come to Pocomania after disillusionment with Revival groups and that they join to work for evil purposes with evil forces. The bands are small, disorganized, and disliked. Indications of homosexuality among Pocomania followers have been learned from informants and referred to by Kerr.[1] At the present time, this cult seems to be disintegrating and disappearing from the area.

Revival Zion and Pocomania appear to be offshoots of the largest Christian sect in the area, known as Revival. Regardless of which one of these three forms came first, Revival is the major group now, and its leaders express a desire for recognition of Revival as a conventional denomination in Jamaica. Because it is one of the two

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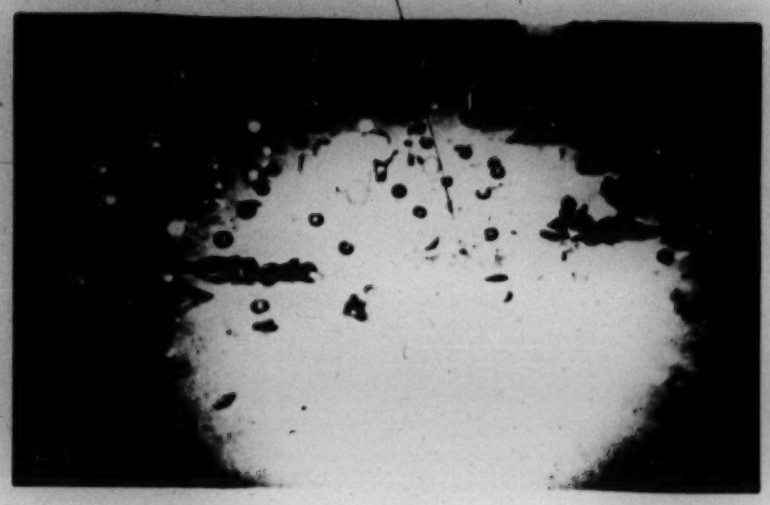
1 Kerr, 1952, p. 89.



GROUND ALTAR

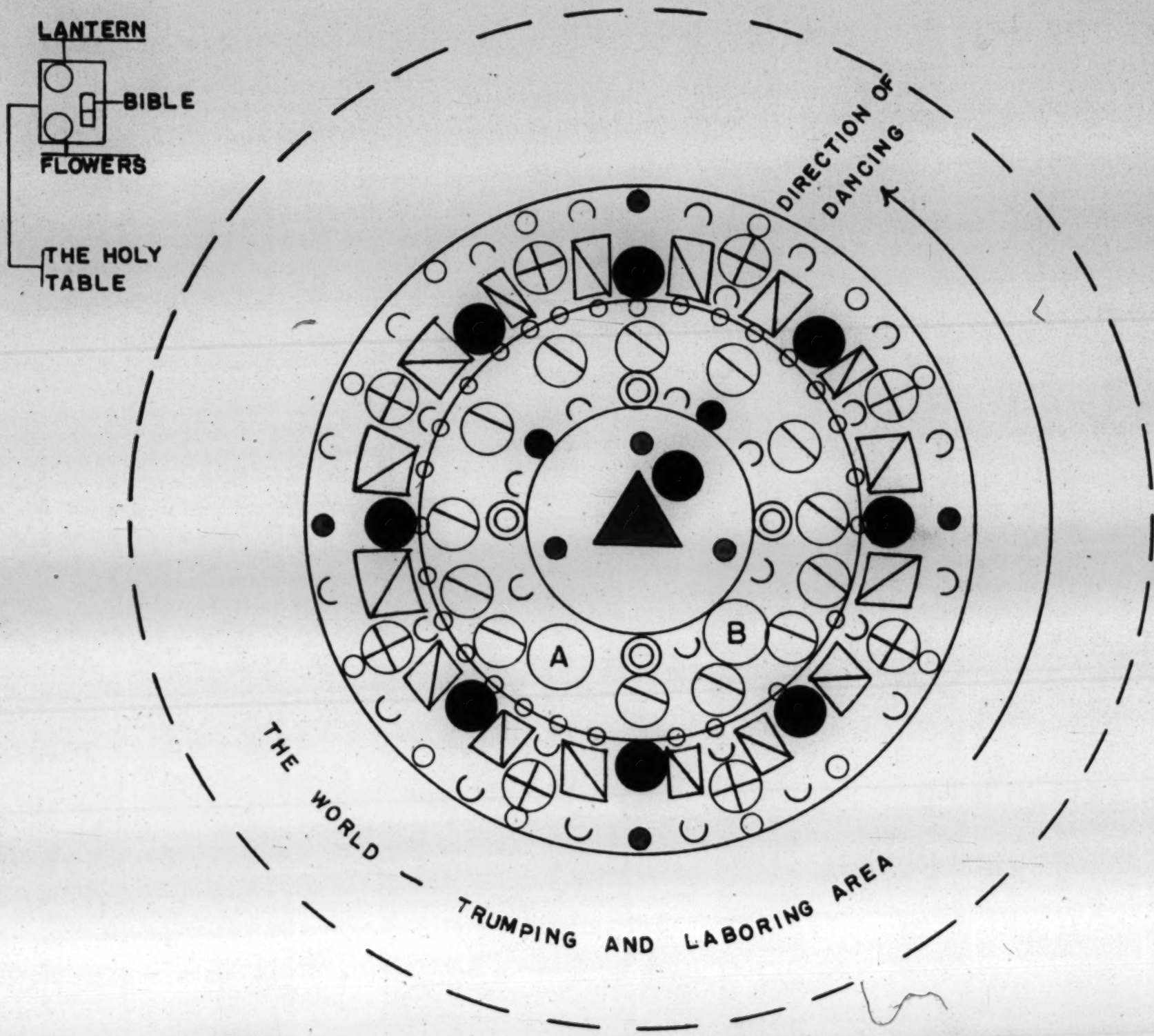
REVIVAL - POCOMANIA

SMASHING THE ALTAR

POSSESSIONS

THE SECOND TABLE

A GROUND TABLE — POCOMANIA ALTAR



- TOMATO
- WHITE CANDLE
- RED CANDLE
- GREEN CANDLE
- BLUE CANDLE
- STAR APPLES
- MANGO
- BREADFRUIT
- GRAPEFRUIT

- SPIRIT KEY
- FERNS
- A — PUMPKIN
- B — JACKFRUIT
- VASE OF FLOWERS

INNER CIRCLE — GOD THE FATHER

SECOND CIRCLE — GOD THE SON

THIRD CIRCLE — GOD THE HOLY GHOST

cult groups studied intensively and described in subsequent chapters, it is sufficient merely to mention it here.[1]

The other group studied intensively is also one of the largest in the area and is non-Christian. Members of this cult refer to themselves as africans, and attend african Cumina dances and ceremonies. Their ceremonies and beliefs, discussed in Chapter V, have a dominant influence on the people of the area.

Another group, known as the Maroons, is equally non-Christian in theology and ceremony. The Maroons are to be found in Johnson, Rolland Fields, and other parts of the Morant Bay area. It is difficult to estimate the total number of Maroons and part Maroons, but judging from the number of dance ceremonies held, it would appear that this group is from 5 to 10 percent of the size of the african group in St. Thomas Parish.

The Maroon group, like the african group, does not have the kind of a cult organization which includes cult houses and priests, as reported in some parts of the New World.[2] However, a strong family-clan-nation consciousness tends to formalize the membership of the group.

In Maroon theological structure, there are three ranks of dieties referred to as gods, or jah. (JO) These are high sky gods, earthbound gods, and gangfrara, (GONGFROR) (spirits of

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1 Chapter IV, Revival, p.69.

2 Herskovits, M. J. and F. S., 1947, p. 325.

deceased relatives who come to the dance ceremonies to possess living members of the group).[1]

The ceremonies are held in a dancing booth similar to that of the africans, or they can be held in the open.[2] Dancing is counter-clockwise, but dancing at an angle from the center pole out to one corner of the booth is quite common. The dancing of this group differs considerably from that of the african; use of fire, leaping, striding, and posturing are characteristic of Maroon dancing and seldom seen in african Cumina. Also, because goat meat is tabu for Maroons, they use the pig as a sacrificial animal in their ceremonies, while in Cumina the goat is always used.

If it should happen at a Cumina that descendants of a mixed marriage (half Maroon, half african) attend, a Maroon ancestral spirit, or gangfrara, may take possession of the half Maroon dancer. This situation always calls for immediate adjustment, for the two types of spirits cannot dance in the same circle. Therefore, when both are present, a segment of the circle immediately outside the dancing booth is cleared, and this area is sealed off for the use of the Maroon jah or gangfrara. The africans have developed specific songs

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1 These ancestral spirits in african groups are called "zombies." The terms, zombie and gangfrara, are both used by these two cults to denote living members who have been possessed at ceremonials, as well as the ancestral spirits who come to dance.

2 See Chapter V, Cumina, p. 122.

to control the gods of the Maroons, and a capable officer of africanCumina is prepared for such an occurence.[1]

The Maroons have their own language and are proud of their history.[2] Except for the behavior of the ancestral spirits during a dance which requires the above mentioned separation, there is little trace of present day animosity between Maroons and africans. Yet, historically, due to the alliance between the British and the Maroons for the purpose of recapturing escaped slaves, there was great hatred between the two groups.

While the Maroons have given their day names like Cudjo, Quo, Quaco, Cuffee, et. al., and their trickster hero, Anancy, to all of Jamaica, they are not a dominant influence in the Morant Bay area.[3] They are decidedly smaller and less important than the africanCumina group.

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1 One of such "control" songs is called, "Maroon Gone." For the text of this song see Chapter V, Cumina, p.141.

2 See glossary, Appendix B.

3 Day Names are Gold Coast in origin where each day is named and a child born on the given day receives that name.

Day	Ashanti	Jamaican		Surinam	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Sunday	Fo-Kwesi	Quashe	Quasheba	Kwassi	Akwasiba
Monday	Fo-dwo	Cudjo	Juba	Kodjo	Adjoba
Tuesday	Nwuna-bena	Cubena	Benaba	Kwabina	Abena
Wednesday	NKyi-wukuo	Quaco	Cooba	Quakoe	Akoea
Thursday	Kuru-yao	Quao	Abba	Jaw	Jaba
Friday	Kwa-fie	Cuffee	Feeba	Koffi	Afida
Saturday	Mono-mene	Quamin	Mimba	Kwassi	Amba

In the Ashanti system after seven days each prefix falls back one day so that Monday becomes Nwuna-dwo, Tuesday NKyi-bena, etc.
Ashanti - Rattray, 1923; Jamaican and Surinam - Herskovits, Lecture Notes, 1947.

Some African words have come into full use in the general language of Jamaica. An example of this is the Twi word, "nyam," meaning "to eat." "The donkey nyam," is understood to mean, "The donkey eats." In addition to these occasional, borrowed words used by all, a large number of people in the Morant Bay area speak a second language among themselves which has been recorded but will not be analyzed in this study.

It is interesting that still another group of people seem to understand this second language but do not speak it. Words like malava (MALAVA) (rum), sueekeetee yacala (SWIKITI yacala) (good man), langa (LONGE) (water), tanga (TANGE) (dance), are generally understood among the Negroes throughout the area. People refer to this language as african, and differentiate it from another non-English language which they call "Maroon," which is spoken by the Maroon people who live in the mountains centering around Moore Town, just outside the western edge of the Morant Bay area. These languages seem to be learned while still an infant and appear in folk songs, and are heard in private conversations between members of these two groups.

The two religious groups, then, of major importance and interest in this area are Revival and Cumina. The first is a Christian sect, with characteristics of African and Western culture, offering an example of syncretism. The second is non-Christian, related to African religious systems among peoples of West Africa and the Congo, providing abundant evidences of retention.

CHAPTER IV

REVIVAL CULT

According to Revivalists, the origins of their cult go back to first century beginnings in Asia Minor. It is notable that the Old Testament fathers, the major and minor prophets, and even figures in the Pentateuch such as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, appear in present day Revival "workings" to "trump" and "labor" in the service.

A greatly respected shepherd, high officer of a Revival group, described the beginnings of Revival this way:

> Revival come from children of Galilee. The mother of Revival is Mary Madelena. We sing of her; we discern her in the spirit; she is the mother of Revival. Joshua was a mighty shepherd and I have seen him in the spirit of our nature, too, behold in my trance...in my vision of discerning he told me that...I am Joshua...I serve and I am a shepherd...I am a prophet.
>
> Revival come from the children at Galilee. It started there. It is something that the people couldn't get. A tyrant with a cruel government ruled them at that time; the government couldn't smash the group to establish its power; so they try to catch and flog.

Another shepherd had this to say about origins:

> Zionists claim that they are directly from Mt. Zion. That is their church. But all God's children are from Zion because Zion is the Holy City of God. But the only two differences among Revival and Zion--one group trump upward, taking groan down; one groans up and trumps down. One coming down, Revival; and one coming up, Zion.

Before proceeding further, it is important to consider the manner

and function of "trumping," "groaning," and "laboring."

The dance, or posturing, peculiar to Revival cults (which include Revival Zion and Pocomania) is called "trumping." It is done counter-clockwise around the altar, or the center of a ring and has the appearance of a forward moving two-step stomp. With the step forward, the body is bent forward from the waist so sharply as to seem propelled by force. At the same time, the breath is exhaled, or inhaled, with great effort and sound. The forcefulness of the action gives justification for the use of the word, "laboring." The word, "groaning" is used in connection with the heavy expulsion and sucking in of breath.[1] In Revival and Pocomania the breath is exhaled when the body bends down and inhaled on the upswing; in Revival Zion, the process is reversed.

Trumping is accompanied by the singing or humming of a hymn, but when laboring begins, the force behind the body's motion and breathing is so severe that singing becomes impossible. Trumping and laboring refer to an unbroken process of worship and invitation to the spirits to come down and take possession of the worshippers. When spirit possession does take place, an individual's legs may seem riveted to the ground, or he may be thrown to the ground from which position he is raised up (by fellow worshippers) and danced out into full laboring and possession.

The reason given for trumping is "to worship God and serve Him forever," while the reason given for laboring is "to prepare the way

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1 Groaning is explained by one cult member: "The Revival groaning for the man as in the spirit when Jesus was on the cross, was said, ah, how He groans while nature smiles!" He groans though feeling pain.

for the Holy Spirit and the saints to come." Those who are members of Revival say that the first trumping at a service is to waken the spirits and call them to service. Pointing out that the Bible says, "Come let us sing unto the Lord a joyful song," the Revivalists claim they also sing a joyful song unto God when they trump, and that when the heavenly host and the spirits hear the sound of laboring, they are joyful and come down.

Every Revival service begins after a careful preparation of the dancing booth and the altar table. The building and setting of these is considered to be as important a part of the service as the order of the ceremony itself.

The dancing booth is not unlike the booths built for an <u>african</u> Cumina.[1] The construction begins with five upright bamboo poles, a pole for each corner and one in the center. The four corner poles represent the four corners of the earth and the four evangelists--Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John--who control these corners. The center pole represents the central power of God, particularly the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost. The four poles are then tied around by thinner poles latched from one to the other to make a base for what constitutes the top of the booth. On the top, across from side to side, are stretched thinner bamboo poles, and upon these are laid palm leaves and banana leaves which, together, make a fairly good protection from any weather but the very heaviest kind of downpour. The booth always is placed inside of the yard of a family so that guards may be stationed at the gate to the yard, thereby controlling both the living persons who come

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1 See Chapter V, Cumina

to the ceremony as well as the spirits of the dead who come through the same gate. At the time of the ceremony there will always be a lantern or a torch burning at this entrance gate.

The altar is a table set so that it touches the center pole near its own center. It may be north, south, east or west of the center pole so long as it touches it. A white cloth is placed upon the altar, completely covering it. There appears to be some variations according to ceremonies observed. In some cases, the band used only the center table, while in others three small boxes, made so that they would fit one on top the other, were placed on the table at the back, touching the center pole. Each small box, itself, touched the center pole. When this combination of three is used, candles and flowers are placed on each of the three altars. The three units are explained to be for the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; the top box being for the Father, the second for the Son, and the third for the Holy Ghost.[1]

The booth and the altar once in place, the colors of the particular ceremony are wrapped around the center pole, and three ribbon strips of the same color laid across the top of the altar. One strip is laid directly from the center pole to the other side of the table, one divides the distance on the left side of the altar, and one on the right. These three strips of ribbon also represent the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; in this instance, the center strip is for the Holy Ghost with the Father and Son on either side. The bottom box is made large enough so that it rests upon all three ribbons. If the three boxes are not used, a

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1 This same interpretation maintains for the re tables in use in Roman Catholic and Anglican churches.

connecting ribbon is placed along the edge of the table so that all three strips are connected to the center pole.

The edge of the altar is lined with candles, usually white. There are never less than twelve. There seems to be no limit to the quantity of candles above this number which may be used; one ceremony made use of seventy-two white candles placed on the edges of all four sides of the altar table with one black candle placed on each end, north and south. It is unusual, however, to see other than white candles at a ceremony.

Three or four trays of bread loaves, uncut, are placed in the sections of the altar towards the middle of the table. Large objects, such as melons, are next placed near the bread loaves. Vases of flowers are set in each section of the altar, front and back, and there are vases at the four corners. In the two central sections of the altar are laid a variety of seasonable fruits which might be bananas, citrus fruits, nuts, and coconuts. There will also be drinking materials, chiefly milk, Coca Cola, and coconut water. According to one officer of a Revival band, the mango is not normally used on Revival altars, at least not when he officiates. On the other hand, mangoes were found on the altars at services of other bands, but they were the finest mangoes procurable in the area, the Bombay mango, and not the common variety. Somewhere on the altar table will be found, also, little dishes of white salt and sugar.

After the altar is completely laid with food and ceremonial candles, a glass of pure water is placed on the altar near the center pole. If the three-part altar on top of the table is used, the glass is placed

at the edge of the bottom box. Great care is taken not to place the glass of water on a ribbon, nor on the box. The glass may be placed near a ribbon, near the center pole, near the bottom box; it does not touch any of them. After the altar is set, an ordinary two-gallon water pail, filled with pure water and covered by a white cloth, is placed under the altar just across from the center pole. The altar is, at this point, considered to be ready for the service.[1]

The setting of the altar table is always accomplished before sundown, and an officer of the Revival band is left on guard in the dancing booth until time for the service.[2] The period of time taken for the preparation of a dancing booth and altar is never less than two or three days.

At sundown, after all preparations are completed, the service is begun with Sankey hymns interspersed with psalms and prayers. During the singing of the hymns, the group begins a mild trumping and laboring while circling the altar counter-clockwise. This is the signal that the service has really begun for the trumping and laboring is the invitation to the Holy Ghost and all the other spirits to come down and join the Revival band. The first portion of trumping and laboring is to bring the Holy Spirit down the center pole of the booth and into the water which has been placed in the glass upon the altar; and also to bring the four evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), who control the north, south, east, and west, into the corner poles of the booth.

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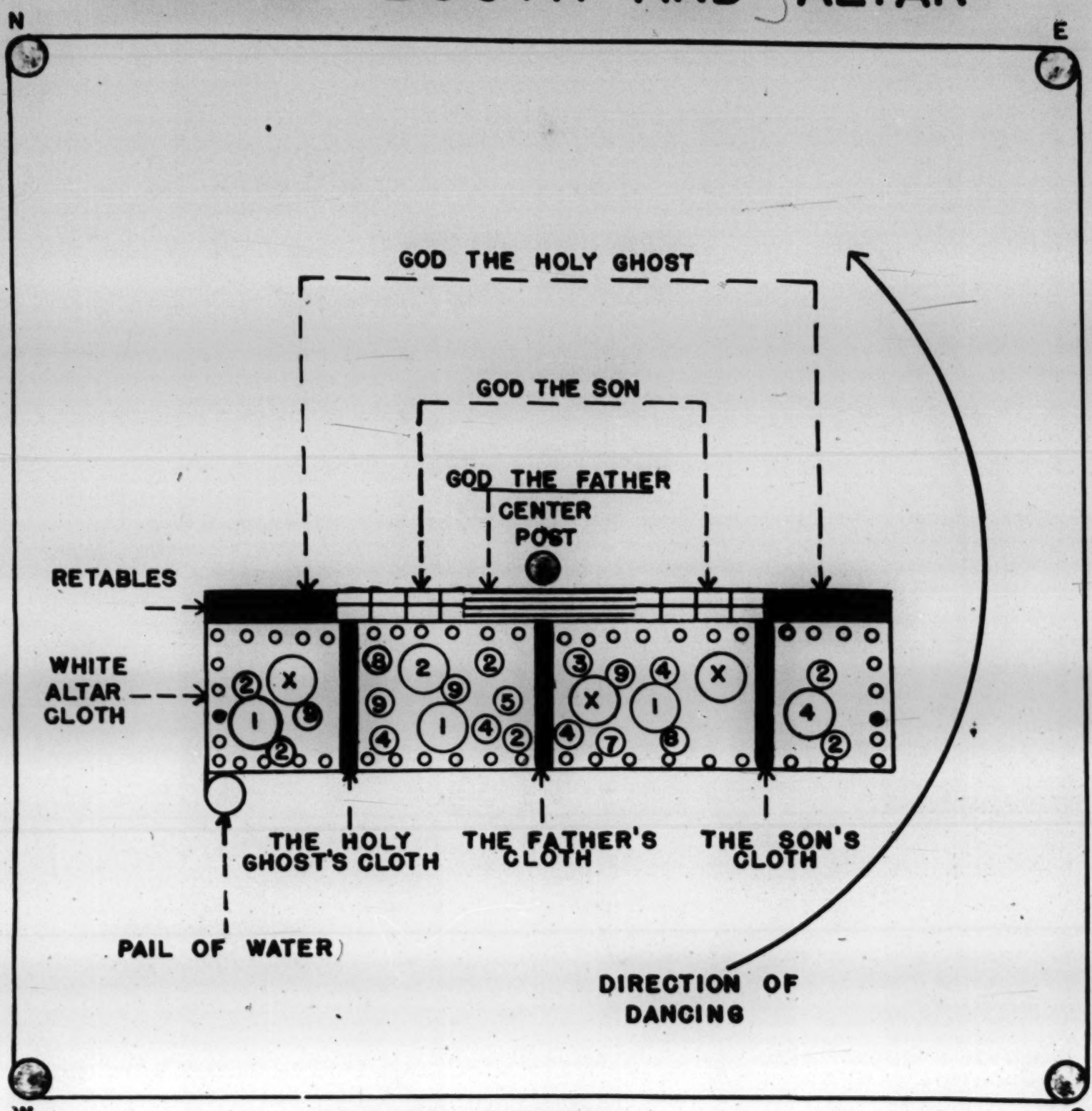
1 See Fig. _ (Illustration of an altar properly set)

2 The person left on guard will be one of the warrior shepherd's retinue whose duties will be described later in this section.

REVIVAL BOOTH AND ALTAR



KEY TO DIAGRAM

1 - TRAYS OF BREAD

2 - VASES OF FLOWERS

3 - GLASS OF WATER

4 - PONGO NUTS

5 - DRY COCONUT

6 - WHITE SAUCE & SUGAR

7 - RIPE BANANA

8 - COCO COLA

X - MELON

9 - MANGO (BOMBAY)

o - WHITE CANDLES

● - BLACK CANDLES

At this point, the service having been properly set, and the ground around the altar and inside the booth consecrated by the spirit, the ceremony can proceed. All other spirits can come at will. The process is always the same: down the center pole, into the water in the pail under the altar, and then into the bodies of the faithful members of the band.[1]

The purpose, then, of trumping and laboring is to call for possession by a spirit.[2] Such possession is highly desirable because "knowledge comes this way," according to experienced Revivalists. They also say that the first time a person is possessed, "he labors but has little knowledge," that this comes gradually through further possessions:...(At the first possession).."you don't get no teachment and that is why you need to be with the band...you get teachment as you move with the band." In other words, the act of possession momentarily cleanses your body and opens your mind, but further development comes from the instruction of the Revival band, from dreams and visions, and from a constant experience of many possessions.

In the development and training of new members of Revival, the Holy Spirit is the first to come to the initiate. It is the Holy Spirit who calls this person to his service and who changes his life, "...but it takes work with the band to continue to grow in the spirit and as you come to Revival service and work with members of the band, little

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1 Water is the important element in Revival for the transmission of spirits--the glass of water, the pail of water, the drinking of water during the ceremony, these are all vehicles through which the spirits gain entrance into Revival members.

2 While trumping and laboring openly invites possession, an individual not participating can be possessed if the spirit so desires.

by little you trump and labor and the evangelists come down and use you." The Revivalists feel that they are "used" by the evangelists, as well as all the other spirits, in order that these spirits may "rejoice."

The phenomenon of possession is defined by Revivalists as a condition which develops in an individual when the spirit is entered into a living man or woman's body and controls that body to suit its needs. As such, the experience is necessary in the conversion and development of an individual and can influence progressively his manner and way of life after the spirit has departed. After possession, many of the faithful have been known to give up smoking tobacco and drinking rum, although there is no uniformity about this. A Revival shepherd has described the process in these words:

> A great change always comes to the individual when the Holy Spirit chooses him or her, and some people never change back again, but others sometimes spoil it. What I mean is, that it isn't necessarily permanent if you don't keep working at it. By working and trumping and laboring and study, you discern, you grow, because you have an inner teacher, the Holy Spirit and the apostles and the saints, which works in the inner man and teaches you.

The Revivalist's concept of the state and process of possession coincides remarkably well with William James' description of mystical states, where he reports:

> Although the oncoming of mystical states may be facilitated by preliminary voluntary operation, as by fixing the attention, or going through certain bodily performances, or in other ways which manuals of mysticism prescribe; yet when the characteristic sort of consciousness once has set in, the mystic feels as if his own will were in abeyance, and indeed sometimes as he were grasped and held by a superior power. This latter peculiarity connects mystical states with certain definite phenomena of secondary or alternative personality, such as prophetic speech, automatic writing, or the mediumistic trance. When these latter conditions are well pronounced, however, there may be no recollection whatever

> of the phenomenon, and it may have no significance for the subject's usual inner life, to which, as it were, it makes a mere interruption. Mystical states, strictly so called, are never merely interruptive. Some memory of their content always remains, and a profound sense of their importance. They modify the inner life of the subject between the times of their recurrence.[1]

Possession, for Revivalists, satisfies a dual purpose: the desire of the individual to invite the Holy Spirit and other saints and spirits to use his body and to teach him; and the desire of the Holy Spirit, the prophets and disciples, and ancestors, to return to the world by using individuals for their enjoyment and edification. The behavior of the person possessed varies with the spirit who possesses him, for the individual is endowed with the powers of that particular spirit. Such behavior is readily identified by the leaders of the cult, and even by many initiates and persons who are not members. A great and revered Father, returning to a ceremony, may endow wisdom and understanding to a young initiate in his late teens; a wheeling shepherd, returning to a ceremony, may momentarily infuse an unschooled initiate with feats of accomplishment impossible for him in his normal, conscious state.[2]

In possession, the spirit is described as coming down in the booth through the center pole into the water, then into the ground, and from there into the feet of the person to be possessed, up his legs to his spine, up his spine to his shoulders, and from his shoulders to his head. Or, it is described as coming like a dove into the dancing booth, down the center pole into the water, and transmitted by the water into the

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1 James, 1902 p.381.

2 A shepherd who attains wide reknown for his wisdom may be elevated to the title of Father.

body through the lips and mouth of the individual. Both water and ground are transmitters of spirits, but in Revival the indispensable element is water. This appears to be the transmitting medium required by the entire range of spirits and ancestors returning to the ceremonies.

Certain classes of spirits have been mentioned above. By developing further the ranks of deities and spirits, it will be possible to see more clearly the theological concepts and some of the ceremonial practices of Revival cults.

God the Father is the high god, the creator and ruler of the universe. He never comes to the service, nor dances, but always stays in the high heavens. There he is served by the heavenly host, the cherubim and seraphim; neither do they come down to trump and dance for their portion is continual worship at the throne of God the Father. God the Son, Jesus Christ, comes down to Revival, is known to be there and his presence felt though he never trumps. Frequently the "love feast," which comes in the middle of the service, is made in memory of him. God the Holy Spirit, the Holy Ghost and sanctifier, is the chief energising spirit in Revival. He comes to every service, trumps and labors, and is the force behind Revival's power.

The next group consists of the archangels and prophets who come to dance. Michael, the archangel, is called the chief messenger. The archangel Gabriel is often called upon to aid in divining services as messenger and chief officiant. Both major and minor prophets come to dance; some of those seen were Elija, Daniel, Moses, Amos, Joshua, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Nehemiah.

The four evangelists are very powerful and are present at every

service, for it is they who reside in the corner posts of the dancing booth. In the north corner post is Matthew, in the south post is Mark, in the west is Luke and in the east, John. The four evangelists also rule the four corners of the earth.[1] When they trump or dance, they come from their corner posts through the top of the booth, down through the center pole, into the water and then into the ground and into the dancer.

Next come the great disciples, especially Peter and Paul who appear regularly as ministers in the person of the Holy Ghost, or along with him. James and Matthias make frequent visitations as disciples, too. In addition, great shepherds and shepherdesses, who have died, come to labor and trump at the services. Being spirits now, they come exactly as do the other spirits, namely, down the center pole and into the water, the ground, and into the cult member. Of these latter, the most frequent in attendance are leaders who formerly headed bands in the same area. Although great shepherds, long deceased and from other parts of the island, are said to come to memorial services, this was never observed. From actual observation, however, all the ancestral shepherds, shepherdesses, and other officers who returned to Revival ceremonies were men and women who served in bands in the Morant Bay area, and were known in life to someone present.

It may be interesting to note here some of the leading ancestral shepherds and shepherdesses who return to dance. For instance, there

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1 Revelation: VII, 1

is Shepherd Granville who often comes to Revival in this area.[1] He died in 1925 according to those who remember him. When he comes, he wheels and calls for a glass of water which is placed on his head and is never spilled. While he is wheeling, a special hymn, "While Shepherds Watch their Flocks by Night," is sung. He wears a white robe and is greatly revered.

There is also Father Levas, a respected shepherd who was elevated to the office of Father. He died in 1939 when he was almost eighty-nine years old. When he comes, a chair is placed for him at the end of the table; here he sits and instructs. His special hymn is always sung, "The God of Abraham Praise," and a black robe is placed upon the person possessed by him. Father Levas is impartial, coming as frequently to young initiates as to any other members of the band. As he sits at the head of the table, he reasons with the shepherds, sometimes giving the group a message or warning, sometimes disseminating advice to the people. When Father Levas comes, "the individual knows him well but he may not become conscious..the bearer possessed by Father Levas would become unconscious of his own personal consciousness and do just as Father Levas said." Furthermore, at a normal Revival service there is no chair at the head of the table; yet when Father Levas comes, the chair is always there when he wants it. In explanation it was said that "someone brings the chair, but the person when they bring the chair does not always know why he bring the chair. It just come and is placed at the head of the table."

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1 Beckwith mentions a Granville as the leader of a Revivalist meeting which she attended during the period of 1919 to 1924. (Black Roadways, p. 161)

Another returning figure is Shepherd Blair who died about 1920, at the age of fifty. He was a great wheeling shepherd, and a trumping man, and "he drew things from the four corners of the earth", working especially with the four evangelists. In life, he had the gift of prophesy and divination, and when he comes to dance he comes with this same gift. He gives spiritual advice and can tell what will happen in the future—either in the next two hours, tomorrow, or in the next month. He comes into the meeting in a great wheeling dance, wheeling around and around. He usually works with the wheeling shepherd in the ceremony, although he may come to other members of the band. Of him it is said, "he likes a blue color, and usually you have to get a blue color to take care of him, but sometime he will work in white."

Shepherd Bendigo died about 1919 when he was close to sixty years old. He was a great man for "cutting and clearing," which means cutting off evil and clearing it away. In life, he was a wheeling shepherd with the gift of prophesy, especially as it related to the riddance of evil. Now, when he comes, he brings his tremendous gifts for prophesy and his special power for cutting and clearing the most difficult of evil. He wheels, and sometimes breaks in his wheel toward the four corner posts. He never possesses anyone but a wheeling shepherd and he loves to wear red.

There are other great shepherds and shepherdesses who come to Revival often, but those mentioned above will suffice to illustrate the part they play in the ceremonies.

Each Revival band is self-governing. However, there is contact, interchange and cooperation among the membership of the bands in an area. Because of the considerable travel in which these bands engage,

their contact spreads throughout the Morant Bay area, and, in some cases, far beyond.[1] One band may invite a shepherd or shepherdess from another band to assist in a ceremony, or as it is often called, a "working," but each group has its own leaders and membership with its government stemming from its top officers whose prescribed powers are respected by all the members.

The highest office attainable for any man in the Revival cult is the revered rank of Father. This high office may be reached only by a crowned shepherd, who, after serving for a considerable period of time, becomes so respected by his own and other bands that he is advanced to the calling of Father. He is the only officer who may preside at a number of bands' ceremonies. He is called upon to preside at "workings of groups very distant from him. He is known as a great healer and advisor, and often earns his living this way.[2]

In a regular ranking of offices within a band, the highest office is that of a crowned shepherd. Crowning, in every instance, indicates a formal service of investiture corresponding to a ceremony of ordination. Normally, an officer, or a member who is called to a specific

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1 One shepherd reported having travelled to bands in the western parishes of Jamaica, some ninety miles away.

2 A highly regarded shepherd in the Morant Bay area is now consulted by bands at a great distance whose members speak of him as a Father. Being still in his forties, he prefers working as a wheeling shepherd, but there is some question as to how long his outside duties will permit him to do this for he is in great demand because of his wisdom and ability. This high reputation has not brought him any wealth; he has never earned more than one pound a week, as a farm laborer. His total income for 1950 was thirty pounds, and his belongings include four shepherd gowns, some simple paraphernalia, one pair of worn-out shoes, one pair of cotton pants, and one cotton shirt.

office, works in that office until he is called to a higher office. He may work in that office for a number of years until he has enough money to have a crowning ceremony. There do not appear to be any variations in the crowning ceremonies for various offices or in different bands.

There are seven divisions with the shepherd rank, symbolizing the seven different callings as described in Revelations.[1] Actually, these divisions represent the various duties which must be attended to during a ceremony. If the band is large enough, it is possible that there will be a shepherd in command of each duty; if it is not, one of the minor officers will perform the duty. In the paragraphs that follow, the seven kinds of shepherds and their duties will be described.

The principal shepherd in charge of most services and in over-all charge of the band is the wheeling shepherd. His title denotes the pattern of his dance. At various times, during the first and second table ceremonies, he wheels about the altar, always counter-clockwise. As master of ceremonies for the entire occasion, his duties are manifold, but his principal qualification is the ability to wheel so that the Holy Spirit will be attracted and drawn to the service.

The rambling shepherd has a most important and difficult job, for it is he who whips up the tempo of the ceremony and leads the procession when it leaves the booth. He travels from one end of the procession to the other in order to keep in touch with the group all the time. He must also ramble in and out of the group, and in and out of the crowd.

The warrior shepherd, sometimes called the captain, is an officer of military aspect in the ceremonies. It is his duty to "war the bounds,"

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1 Revelations, VI, VIII

which means to protect the area being used for the service. He protects the service from human intervention and (evil) spirit intrusion. In the words of one shepherd, "The warrior shepherd stands on foot and he wars the bounds. He wars the bounds at times from all evil powers that might come." He also serves to keep the service in line with the military hours,[1] sees that the first table (or service) is concluded at the proper time, is the keeper of the keys, and calls down spirits at the proper time.[2]

The hunting shepherd has the duty, principally, to hunt out every part of the yard, including the dancing booth, before the service begins. During a service he will dance for a while, but there are times when he will leave the band to go outside the yard to meet the good spirits formally. He leads out ahead of the band in a procession to and from the dancing booth. He also goes out to meet the oncoming spiritual powers who might harm the service.

The spying shepherd serves the band by foreseeing events in the future as well as events about to happen in the ceremony. Especially acute are his powers of divining for which he uses water, sprinkling it around him. He has special knowledge of the spirit world and serves the band as advisor, and is consulted constantly by the wheeling shepherd in his capacity as diviner.

The cutting shepherd determines whether there is any evil influence coming into a meeting and is charged with the duty of cutting it

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1 Military hours: actual hours were not established except control hours for bringing in spirits at set times.

2 Keeper of the keys: this refers to a crook carried by the shepherd with twig rings on it which are set to denote the pattern of a particular service or "working." This will be described more fully later.

out before it can do any damage. His tools are a candle and candle light. Sometimes, he dispatches a spirit from the meeting ground by putting a candle out; sometimes, he invites another spirit to come by lighting a fresh candle. Often, he throws the light out through the crowd; or he may light matches and throw them out over the heads of the crowd, either to dispatch evil spirits or to take away the power of someone in the meeting not strong enough to handle a spirit.

In the usual ceremonies, the water shepherd's responsibility is to see that there is pure water available at all times--a glass of water on the table, and a pail of water covered with a white cloth underneath the table. Water is used to attract the Holy Spirit, all the saints and other spirits. It is the means by which a spirit is transmitted into the bodies of the members of the band. Without drinking water freely throughout the ceremony, the Holy Spirit and others cannot enter into the bodies of the followers. At certain times the water shepherd comes into prominence in the ceremonies. His connection with the River Maid gives him great importance during thunderstorms, rain showers, or when the river gods seek entrance into the Revival ceremony.[1]

It is important here to recognize the entrance of the River Maid and the river gods into Revival ceremony, for they appear in african Cumina ceremonies as well. Quite apart from the regular officers of Revival, the River Maid under certain circumstances will function as the most important officer. During storm or rain, or when there is some particular aspect of a ceremony which invokes the river gods, the River Maid takes over and is the primary officer of the band. Serving her is

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1 River gods..See Sec. IV, Cumina

a water shepherd and shepherdess, a water boy and girl. At times, she is stronger than a shepherd, a Mother,[1] or a Father, because she rules the ocean and the seas; because two persons of the Trinity use water coming down into Revival; and because all the heavenly and earthly host use water. The importance of water cannot be overestimated for it is the life line of the spirit. The River Maid and her assistants

> . . . labor in the water. . . even if the rain is downpouring, it won't hurt them. They don't have to be afraid of pneumonia, nor have they any fear of ailments, because directly the water becomes a potion which guards and supports the River Maid and her assistants.

There is a second class of male officers who are acting shepherds and fall into the same categories as the crowned shepherds. This second group comprises those shepherds who have never had a crowning ceremony and usually do not own their own gowns. Moreover, there is a third rank of officers, called workers, working under the crowned and acting shepherds. These officers carry the titles of hunter man, warrior man, cutting man, rambling man, spying man, shepherd boy and water boy. The shepherd boy is attached to the wheeling shepherd.

These offices have female counterparts--crowned shepherdesses, acting shepherdesses, and women workers. The highest woman's office is referred to either as Mother or crowned shepherdess; the highest crowned shepherdess is a wheeling mother. There are, therefore, the wheeling mother, the rambling mother, the warrior mother, the hunting mother, the cutting mother, the spying mother, and the water mother or water shepherdess who serves the River Maid. The female offices correspond in

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1 The highest female officer, a shepherdess.

every respect to the male categories except that the third rank of working officers is headed by a special officer not found among the men, known as a governess. She may be either an acting or a crowned governess, depending upon whether or not she has been formally crowned. The token of her office is a rod which is sometimes called a sword. In a small band having only one shepherdess, the governess frequently acts in the capacity of a mother shepherdess under the direction of the wheeling shepherdess.

The duties of the working officers, or workers, are related to their titles and to the higher officers with whom they work. Each has a specific function to perform. The hunting man is responsible for keeping the meeting in order. He must be able to know, to discern, the good and the bad. He works with the warrior man.

> When the hunter man finds anything that is contrary approaching the band which has any influence that will disagree, the hunter man put the warriors at work and the warriors be able to cut and clear it because the warrior is the one who moves in there.

The cutting man's duties are like the soldier's to a captain--the captain being the warrior man. The cutting man cuts and clears as directed by the warrior man and in conjunction with the warrior shepherd's activities.

The rambling man's duty is to see that everything goes along as planned, guarding areas, and keeping everything in order. He is also connected with stirring up the faithful and putting the spirits on fire.

The spying man serves the spying shepherd in his work of discerning the future and the true meanings of situations and messages as they

arrive.

Just as specific are the women's duties. The hunting woman carries on in the booth while the hunting man is able to go throughout the yard and other yards to change, discern, and invoke the good spirits to carry out an order.

The warrior woman carries a wooden sword and, when called upon by the warrior shepherd, represents the warrior shepherdess in her specific activities. She fights evil influences which may come into a meeting, and protects and controls any and all situations that may arise.

The spying woman assists in looking into the spirit world to answer questions of events coming during the ceremonial or which may be going to happen in the future. She works as part of a team of divination on any given problem together with the spying shepherd, spying shepherdess, and spying man. Besides aiding in predictions, she often foretells the future, herself.

The cutting woman cuts and clears the evil powers that come around to a ceremony, along with the cutting shepherd as he works with the warrior shepherd and warrior man.

The rambling woman "rambles the bounds" and puts the band on fire when faith seems to be leaving and growing cold. As such, she works with the team of rambling officers who keep up the faith in order to see that the ceremony is sustained at a high level.

Under the workers are men and women who are new members, called to serve the band in assistant capacities. These are the initiates and are known in various bands as post-holders, co-workers, and bearers. One of the duties assigned to a new member is to serve as bell-ringer for the

band. This person, almost always a woman, tolls a bell which she holds in her hand as she dances around the altar, announcing the services and the presence of spirits. Also, there is always a person from the outside, who may or may not be developing into membership, who serves as a reader of the Scripture as directed by the shepherd, shepherdess, or governess. Most often, this person is a young woman who is interested in Revival cult, but who has not yet been touched by the Holy Spirit for definite working with the band, and therefore reads the Scripture.

There is a training period for the initiate ranging from a few days to many weeks. When newly possessed, the initiate lives in the yard of a shepherd or shepherdess who looks after him. He travels with the band from one service to another, or from one place to another if the band is on an itinerant schedule. The length of the training period is governed largely by whether the Holy Spirit, the evangelists, and other saints and spirits possess the individual frequently. The promotion of an initiate to a higher office in the band is left entirely to the designation of the Holy Spirit working within that individual. He cannot attain or hold an office in any way other than being called to it by the Holy Spirit. According to those who participate in Revival, assumption of an office is not a matter which can be pretended easily.

The distinctive dress of the several officers of the band includes kerchiefs tied turban-fashion around the head and tucked in above the forehead; long gowns worn by shepherds, shepherdesses, and governesses; and sashes worn by other officers. In addition, each participant carries the tools and weapons of his office.

The wheeling shepherd and wheeling shepherdess wear different colored gowns for different kinds of ceremonies. The gowns' colors

range from black, black and white, white, white and blue, blue, red, and yellow or gold. Black is used for death; white for healing and discernment, or divination; blue for increased knowledge; healing, and divination; red for cutting and clearing, and particular "workings" which involve the fire of the Holy Spirit; and yellow, or gold, for all crowning ceremonies.

The same colors are reflected in the dress of all ranks of officers. for instance, the color of the hunting man is white and blue; the color of the warrior man is red; that of the cutting man is red and black; and the color of the rambling man is blue. The River Maid wears red and blue along with the entire group which works with her, namely, the water boy and water girl, the water shepherd and water shepherdess. The Father normally wears a black robe with a touch of red and blue; the red denotes the fire of the Holy Spirit and the power that he can call down, and the blue bespeaks his great understanding into the heavens and exceptional abilities of prophesying and healing. Initiates, generally, are gowned in white with white headdress while officers wear a red headdress signifying that the Holy Spirit has touched them and uses them, in possession, for the high offices of Revival.

Besides dressing the altar for each service with the proper color, the shepherd wears the correct color for each type of service. The principal gowns he tries to own are, in the order of their importance, white, red, blue, and black. Beyond this, he can have a gown for each type of special "working," but often the cost of owning all these is prohibitive. Consequently, it is permissible to wear a white gown and a red turban, a white gown and a blue shawl, or a white gown with black on it and a black

turban. Most shepherds have three or four gowns and use the other colors in combination with the white or blue gowns.

The gown is a long coat with sleeves, sometimes looking like an ankle-length house dress, sometimes like a doctor's collegiate gown. There is a great deal of variation in these gowns and the better the material and workmanship, the more it looks like a real vestment rather than a woman's dress. The following description offers a more detailed account of some of the reasons for wearing specific colors:

> We wear white gown for a secret working in purity. When we want to work for the healing of somebody who is sick, or for healing the spirit of a sick or sinful man or woman, or great understanding of a problem, a shepherd must then wear a white gown. Also, a white gown is used if a shepherd doesn't have a yellow gown for a crowning ceremony.
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> . . . a red gown is for love of Christ and symbolizes the blood of Jesus Christ, and therefore for sacrifices calling upon the second person in the Trinity. You wear a red gown for sacrifice as been indicated; also for cutting and clearing of evil--this means when working against evil, cutting and clearing it away. You use a red gown for "putting off things" and you have a red cloth on the table.
>
> . . , you wear a blue gown for invoking all the individual spirits. When you want a conference with the spirits on any problem for greater understanding. A blue gown calls for cooperation with all good spirits, large conferences with spirits and ancestral officers of Revival. You call outside this earth to the whole firmament of heaven. It is a great color.
>
> You got to wear a black gown at a mourning table for brother, sister, who has passed.

Other colors used are pink, green and yellow. Pink is used for happiness, joy and peace. Green is for growth--either in nature or understanding; it is used for certain types of memorial services where, as the shepherd says, "there is a joy in the sorrow." Yellow is for the sun; it also represents the crown of God and the brightness of the angels, the

cherubim, and the seraphim; it is the color used in all crowning ceremonies.

Besides wearing the proper colors, each officer has a weapon or weapons distinctive of his particular calling. The shepherd has one which may be in two parts, and which is further divided into several parts. This is a staff, or stave, with a crook, or swivel (or "jack" as one shepherd called it). On the crook end of the staff, if it is in one piece, or on the crook, if carried separately, are a number of rings made from twigs or vines. The number of rings is set for a particular ceremony according to the shepherd's plan for that ceremony. As one shepherd explained:

> This is a key. . . a key to God. I am a captain spying man (and acting shepherd) and advisor to this wheeling shepherd. These thirteen key--one represent the Father, the Spirit; it is the main man, do all the work. These twelve are the disciples: Peter, James, John, Matthew, Mark, Luke, Andrew, Philip, and Simon.
>
> Three (rings) signify to men, the three rivers. Then to the three rivers, passing, you run to the three seas. Passing, you run to the three churches, the three milestones. Represents the three apostles that really did stand with Christ, that is to signify, John the beloved disciple, Peter, and Paul.
>
> Five stand for quorum. Quorum agree. We agree to move this chair and it signs here. Five is running in the fifth heaven.
>
> Now, when you use seven, you are using the seven churches, the seven words of love, the seven golden candlesticks, the seven rivers, the seven seas, the seven milestones, the mystical seven. You see, seven, five, is a mystical; three is a mystical; one, three, five, seven, nine, are all mystical.
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> . . . you see, right at the service, out of the twelve you may want to have two or three acting at a set time according to hours--military hours. You may turn on to work at ten o'clock. At two o'clock you have to spot your next course to take position. So, if you wanted Peter, you would have to get it to Peter, alone, to be there; and then Peter comes down and operates. Whatever your key calls for, that is who comes first at the service.

With these rings, twelve is quite a common number, representing the twelve apostles.[1] Three, seven, and eleven are also in evidence at a variety of "workings"; three for the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; seven as the mystical number for the seven rivers, the seven cities, the seven orders;[2] and eleven, representing the eleven apostles who remained true to Jesus on Pentecost.[3]

The Mother can carry several different tools depending upon the particular ceremony. If it is a red ceremony of cutting and clearing, her tool is a scissors; if for discernment, a cross; under other circumstances, she may carry a stave which serves as a sword. The governess also varies her weapons in accordance with the ceremony at hand. She may carry a rod, a cross, or a scissors. Knives or staffs are carried by the hunting man and hunting woman, the warrior man and warrior woman, and the cutting man and cutting woman.

The River Maid sometimes dances with a glass of water to stimulate spirit interest. At other times, a water shepherd, water shepherdess, or wheeling shepherd may carry a glass of water or sprinkle water on the trumping circle in the booth. Staffs, or small sticks, appear to be the proper tools for all other officers. Only the bearers (initiates) are unarmed and without tools, including the shepherd boy, water girl, and the bell ringer.

Turning from the normal setting of a Revival ceremony to the Pocomanian group which is closely related to Revival, it is important to

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1 Variations in the number of rings would depend upon the types of ceremonies and the particular success a shepherd may have had in the use of certain sets.

2 Revelation: I, 4

3 Matthew: XXVIII, 16

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note the differences. Altars, in Revival, are never set in the ground for there is no method of protection from incoming evil spirits who always use the ground for transmission of their power. Even in Pocomania ceremonies, the table altar is used except for specific cutting and clearing workings. Such workings may involve the invoking of spirits for the purpose of doing harm to an individual, or conversely, to set up enough power to take off the harm laid on an individual by injuring the party responsible. For these occasions a ground altar is used and the reason for this is expressed by a "Poco" shepherd, as follows:

> That's why we laid the table this way. Abel did not bring anything of the earth, no bearing fruit, so he gave the lamb as a sacrifice to God. It was accepted. Cain, he gathered fruit from the earth which was not accepted, and through the grudge of his offering he killed his brother. The Lord asked him, 'Cain, Cain, where is thy brother?' and Cain answered, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' and God said I shall place a mark on thee that thy face may be driven into the land of Nod. And every man shall look upon thee as a rascal and a vagabond.' This table was laid under the scripture.

Hence, as the shepherd explained, the setting of the table was "under" the fourth chapter of Genesis which meant, in this case, that an offering should be made in the manner of Cain's sacrifice.

When a ground altar is laid, no dancing booth is set over it. The fact that it is laid on the ground indicates that no center pole is necessary, nor are the four corner poles needed for the transmission of power. The area selected must be at least thirty-six feet across, and fairly level to facilitate the trumping and laboring which such a ceremony entails. In the center of the area is placed a triangular stone. This stone represents the center of the world and is known as the "power key." A chicken is sacrificed and the blood of the chicken is poured upon and around the stone and on the ground underneath. A black cloth

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is placed over the stone and a white cloth is placed on top. The power key is then ready for the service and the altar is built around it.

For the altar three circles are scratched into the earth. The inner circle of one such altar was four feet in diameter; the second circle was eight feet in diameter; and the outer circle was twelve feet across. However, according to one Poco shepherd, a proper ground altar should measure three feet across the third; and he added that these were important numbers which must be followed. These lines divide areas from the center of the earth out into the world itself. The area in the first circle represents the place of the high God, the Father of the entire universe. The second area is the place of the second person of the Trinity, Jesus, the Son of God. The third area belongs to the Holy Spirit. Outside the third line is the world. The members of the band dance around the world, as well as all the spirits including the fallen angels and the devil--beyond the influence of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

The stone power key is set in the center of the circle with one side to the north, one to the south and one to the east. In one ceremony for cutting and clearing, three red candles were placed at the three corners of the stone and a vase of flowers, placed close to the stone, completed the dressing of the inner circle. In Revival, the Bible would be in the center, but in Pocomania the Bible rests on a second altar, a table with a white cover placed to the east of the three circles some thirty feet away.

The ceremony for cutting and clearing, mentioned above, will provide a good example of the setting of a ground altar. On the line between the first and second circles, four Bombay mangoes were placed in north,

south, east and west positions; and two white candles were set in the northeast and southeast. Between the mangoes and the candles, or near the line, were laid star apples. In the second area, the controversial fruits and vegetables, such as jack fruit and pumpkin, were placed in the west quadrant of the circle; and breadfruit was placed throughout this second area in all directions.[1] On the second line were placed small tomatoes. Inside the third area, the area of the Holy Ghost, were many grapefruit, vases of flowers and star apples; the center of this area was decorated by bouquets of ferns. At the outer edge of the third area, four green candles were set at the north, south, east and west; white candles were placed between these, and more star apples and breadfruit along with them. The green candles were for the four evangelists--Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John--and to set off the four corners of the earth.

When the altar is set, the call to meeting is made by starting the hymn singing period accompanied by drums. The hymns are Sankey, and the drums are the European type beaten with leather wrist beaters on covered sticks.[2] After a number of hymns, the crowd is gathered and the shepherd begins to place the members of the band in their positions for the ceremony of the first table.

At the beginning of a service, the shepherd places those officers of the band who are to act as the leaders in the ceremonial. While the hymns are being sung, each officer is placed in his correct position for

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1 Supposedly unclean fruits and vegetables, not proper for religious service among Revival and Revival Zion cult groups.

2 Sticks covered with leather, attached to wrist of player.

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this specific ceremony set up in the manner of Cain's sacrifice. The shepherd, or Mother, takes the strongest position which is the north, in front of the green candle and outside the three circles. Assuming this place is taken by the Mother, then to her left, facing the center key, is the altar table upon which the Bible and lantern is set. The positions then follow: to the north and northeast, the shepherd; northeast, the governess; east, in front of the green candle, the River Maid; east southeast, the warrior; and south, facing the Mother across the ground altar, the reader whose duty for the evening is to read designated scripture for both services (first and second tables); south and southwest of the reader is the shepherd boy; and in the westerly positions through to north northwest, stand the new initiates.

All the members of the cult begin the service wearing red or white headdresses. The shepherd and most of the other officers wear red. In the particular ceremony mentioned above, however, the shepherdess wore a white gown and white headdress with a red scarf about her neck, while the shepherd wore a red headdress and a gown of pink and white with some blue on it.[1] All new members have white headdresses.

At the ceremony from which some of the above description comes, it was noticed that during the evening persons, not members of the band, were called by their spirits into the circle. At that point, the mark of office was put on; that is to say, should a governess from another band be seized by possession, then a red bandanna would be placed upon

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1 The red being worn at this particular ceremony was for the cutting and clearing of evil things said about this band; the shepherd wore some blue for discernment on the part of the white man visiting them.

her head. On the other hand, it was also noted that some possessions which occurred during the smashing of the first table, or the ceremony
30 of the second table, were not accompanied by the placing of headdresses; and in some others, possessions were recognized by placing a mere bit of cloth on the person involved.

In describing the ceremony, a shepherd explained, "We form a ring where the Mother stands. She carries the weapons for a cutting and clearing ceremony. She carries some scissors". As a matter of fact, each of the principal officers carries some kind of weapon. At this ceremony the shepherdess carried scissors; the shepherd, a knife; the governess, a comb and staff--the comb "to comb the power out of her hair," and also "to comb out the power" from the initiates when it is time for the fallen angels or spirits to leave. The warrior carried a knife and a small stick representing a sword. The River Maid carried no weapon, but at certain times in the service, she was given a glass of water to carry; at such a moment, the water becomes a powerful weapon, extremely important to the ceremony.

At the beginning of the ceremony, when the hymns are sung, a psalm is read between each hymn. The reader at this ceremony was not an initiate but a trusted person outside the band, paid to read the psalms and scripture. The first psalm read was the shepherdess' psalm, Psalm XXXI; the second was the shepherd's psalm, Psalm LV; following these, was the governess' psalm, Psalm XXV.

It might be well to mention the opening hymn of the service because of a comment made by a shepherd concerning it. He said, "The foundation was laid on this hymn," and gave the words as follows: (verbatim)

A charge to keep I have and a God to glorify
And every dying soul to save and fit it for the sky
To serve my present age my calling to fulfill
Oh may all my power engage to do my Master's will.
Arms me with jealous care as in thy sight to live
I surely find my trust betrayed, I shall forever be Thine
Then oh my Lord, prepare my soul for that great day
Oh wash me in they precious blood and take my sins away.

Following the opening hymns and psalms, the prayer for the Mother is given which is directed toward assisting her to fulfill the whole manner of the "work" for the evening. At the conclusion of the prayer the Mother sings a song. At the ceremony mentioned above, when the Mother began to sing she became "two-minded," according to the shepherd, and did not sing the right song; he added that it was because a white man was present, and such a thing had never happened before. He went on to say that this caused in her a "mixed spirit" because she did not understand that the white man was present for study and not from mere curiosity. At the moment when the Mother seemed to be praying for two things, the shepherd detected it, broke into her prayer asking if God was a liar. Later, the shepherd explained further that this Mother was struggling between Revival and Pocomania, and that she was growing away, gradually, from Poco and going back to Revival.

At that moment of the "two-mindedness" of the Mother, the shepherd picked up the jack fruit from the ground and tossed it away. When he did this, she changed completely and made a "one-minded" prayer which was followed by this hymn: (verbatim)

Behold the Son of God appear who save from sin and Oh
He left his radiant throne on High to dwell with man below
Clothing himself with mortal flesh He flies to all relief
Sorrows his first acquaintance were and his companion grief
From Bethlehem to Calvary affliction marks the road
How many a weary steps He takes to bring us back to God.

Immediately afterward, another hymn, "Zion, Oh Lord," was sung.

The next step in the service was led by the shepherd who required the reader to recite from the tenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. The shepherd then explained the passage as follows:

> Cornelius. . a man who pray to God daily and his prayer was heard and God had sent him to Simon Peter. While Peter was on top of a house and fasting, messenger comes. Call him that some messenger need him at the gate. When he comes to Cornelius, Cornelius dropped on his knees. Peter says, "up off thy knees for I am a man like unto thee."

Passages of scripture, hymns, psalms, all serve as vehicles which bring the spirits into a service. They must be the correct, prescribed passages which have the words in them--the words which are the device which calls certain spirits and repells others.

Continuing with the service described above, it was at this point that the first trumping took place. The trumping is always in a counter-clockwise direction and corresponds to 4/4 time: ONE, two, THREE, four. When asked why the trumping began at this particular moment, the shepherd answered:

> At this time, they trump around the circle because it means the pleasure of the spirit. Trumping and laboring is not salvation and only a pleasure of the spirit. In this way, you invite the spirits to come and contact you. You trump until twelve or twelve-thirty, sometime reaching nine A.M.

If the spirits come and keep a cult member trumping under possession until high noon, they call this "reaching the sun dial." In other words, "reaching the sun dial" is dancing Myal, or possession dance, throughout the morning hours of the sun until high noon.[1]

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1 See Chapter V - Cumina

Much to the displeasure of the shepherd, as the trumping continued, possession began to appear early in this first ceremony, or table; in fact, one of the principal officers, a warrior, was possessed at ten-thirty in the evening. At this particular ceremony such a situation should not have happened at the first table. Suddenly, the shepherd intervened and the warrior fell down. Later, the shepherd explained that he "chopped him down." What was observable at this point of the ceremony was that the warrior's trumping became increasingly strong, much stronger than the rest of the group. Suddenly he fell to the ground, after which he rolled from one end of the table to the other, right through the center. This occurred three or four times within fifteen minutes. One would suppose that when a man nearly six feet tall rolls rapidly through a ground altar set with fruits and candles that a great deal of damage would have been done to the setting. Yet, though he rolled through the table four times, none of the candles, fruit, nor the altar itself, was disturbed.

In further explanation the shepherd said he had rolled the warrior through the table to show him that "we have got the handle of the sword, so he would stop." Further, he said that this man was not a full warrior, but an acting warrior; that he is still a shepherd boy and is trying to become a warrior. More evidence of such behavior from this man would prove that he was not strong enough ever to become a warrior. A crowned warrior, on the other hand, could not be "chopped down" by a shepherd; this man was "chopped down" for not having any power himself, but using the next man's power so that when the shepherd commanded him, he simply took all his power and "chopped him down from his legs."

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What was seen to happen preceeding the warrior's fall was an act performed by the shepherd from the center of the altar in which he took a box of matches and, lighting one after another, threw the lighted matches out into the "world," the outer dancing area. After the third match, the warrior fell suddenly to the ground. In pursuing the subject further, the shepherd said:

> I took a box of matches and lit the blaze of fire and threw it out into the world. That was the way I took the power from his legs. The warrior saw that. That is the secret for our key.

He also pointed out the warrior's weakness, saying:

> He was trying too many things. He had on too many wraps. He had a tie on his head and a cross belt as he beat with one rod. . . it was easy to take the power out of his legs because he was tired and collapsed quickly.[1]

After the warrior was once more on his feet and trumping in an orderly fashion, the smashing of the altar took place as midnight arrived. This was led by the shepherdess, the Mother, who was the principal officer of the ceremony. As the faithful trumped outside the third circle, or in the "world," the Mother labored into the inner circles, kicking the fruit into a pile around the key in the center, taking up the candles as she entered each circle. This part of the ceremony was concluded by the eating of the fruits and vegetables. Everything was passed out to the crowd and all were invited to partake, although in this instance, many did not.[2]

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1 It is this kind of situation which lends support to Revivalists' conviction that one cannot pretend to an office which has not been designated for one by the Holy Spirit. The warrior's weakness, in this case, was self-evidence of his lack of calling.

2 Many people fear Pocomania and would not dare to eat.

After the feast, the small table with the Bible and lantern was moved and set over the key in the center of the ground altar. The Bible was removed and the shepherd took over, invoking the fallen angels and calling upon them to come to the service. This was the beginning of the second table, and as it started the trumping resumed and possessions followed immediately. Trumping was explained by this Poco shepherd in the following words:

> You trump with the right foot because this foot belongs to God. Then you stomp with the left foot; the left foot belongs to the fallen angels. You begin with the right foot because God is first, then with the left to signify destruction.

The second table continued throughout the night until nine in the morning.

During this service, a young woman who had been standing outside the circle, not called upon to take part in any way in the service, suddenly screamed, fell on the ground, was raised, and began the motions of trumping. Later, it was learned from the shepherd that she had been an acting governess and was just as powerful as a shepherd; that, although she was not at her own band's meeting, she had "met the sound of her messenger" and "her feet stuck on the ground"; and, the shepherd added, she had come too late. After she screamed, her body went through all the motions of trumping, but apparently she could not move her feet which were spread apart and seemed riveted to the ground, as if she had touched an electric wire. The shepherd and shepherdess came out to her and brought her into the dancing area where they began to trump as they held on to her. After about ten minutes she began to dance, trumping with them in rhythm. This continued for another half hour after which

a red cloth was placed on her head and on the heads of the shepherd and shepherdess.

In Pocomania services, white and red cloths are worn predominantly. The white is said to denote singleness of purpose as well as the fact that the person is a new member and has not danced to many spirits. As they become seasoned members of a band, red is generally worn to denote both their ability and the office they have attained.

What happens when a fallen angel decides to come into a person? The Pocomania shepherd answers it this way:

> You are at a ceremony and suddenly a fallen angel come into the ground, into your feet and mounts your shoulder and then rise to your head. You fall on to the ground. Sometime you fall down and you lie there for days, usually it is more than one day. Some co-workers (new members) must lie on the ground twenty-one days; some co-workers must lie on the ground thirty-one days. You lie down on the ground and the shepherd let down some hot water in a grave, a sacrifice of rum and blood of chicken, some coconut oil and water and flowers. You call a duppy shepherd and then the spirit come in form like him, and you know him. He take care of that co-worker.

After this period of initiation, the co-worker is then strong enough to come forward at ceremonies and take his rightful place in the band. During his period of development, the co-worker remains in the yard of the shepherd or cult member where the possession occurred.[1]

This Pocomania shepherd also explained how it feels to labor and how the weed, ganja, sometimes helps.[2] Pointing out that one can labor to a certain point and "see and come back" and that sometimes "you will

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1 It is interesting to note a similarity here to the practice of bands of diviners among certain Bantu peoples. (Sunkler, 1948, p. 315)

2 (Hindi ghanjha) A preparation of Indian hemp strongly intoxicating and narcotic. (Oxford Universal English Dictionary)

labor all night," he went on to say:

> There is a pleasureness within yourself (when you labor). It is not salvation; it is not connected to the principle. But you feel a pleasureness, a happy pleasureness. You feel the power inside you. You feel the fallen angel and the power. . . You may feel giddy or a little crampness in you (when you feel the spirit). You do as the spirit tells you. You do have some help. Many time you smoke such a weed, ganja, until you get a good shot of it. After you have developed--for Poco--ganja has a real power; after a stick of ganja is smoked spirits come fast and hard.

The following is his instructions for making a potion to be taken by a Poco shepherd before a ceremony:

> You take an ounce of ganja and pour it into a quart of pure water and boil it down to one big gill, and then you buy one half pint of real proof (140 proof) rum and grate nutmeg into it, and shake it up until it all goes together; and then you drink the liquid.

It is important to remember that the above was a Poco shepherd talking. Much that is done in Pocomania is suspect by other cult groups. Certainly ganja is not used by others, nor is rum used at the services of Revival bands in this area. Most Revival members imply that they never use rum at any time, neither in their religious ceremonies nor in their private lives. More than that, many members do not even smoke ordinary cigarettes because they feel it is a hindrance to their trumping and laboring. Among Revival bands water takes the place of rum as the liquid used to convey the spirit; the Holy Ghost and the saints like water and are transported into the body by this substance. Whereas water is always on and underneath the altar in Revival, in Pocomania it appears ceremonially only when it is brought in by the River Maid for specific "working" with the River gods.

The Revival cult in this area holds six kinds of tables, or services, each with a specific purpose. Normally, they are conducted in private yards for the family and relatives who desire the service. Friends and neighbors are invited to attend and, as in the case of other cults, a tax is often taken at the gate, or a candle is sold to visitors for a three pence or sixpence. Throughout the week there are a number of private services conducted in the shepherd's own yard for the purposes of healing, cutting and clearing, or divination.

Examination of each table, or service, in regular sequence will clarify further the purpose of each. The most usual service is the Mourning Table, held three months after the death of a person.[1] The colors for this are black and white, tied both on the center post of the booth and doubled strips placed on the altar. The white is said to be for purity, representing the flesh of Jesus Christ; and the black for mourning, representing sin and death. The second Mourning Table is held six months after death. It is, again, a black and white table and its special purpose is to recommend the dead person to the second member of the Trinity, the Son of God, Jesus Christ. It is believed that Jesus sometimes comes and sits at the table--"You can feel his presence but he does not trump." The third Mourning Table is held a year and a half after the burial of an individual. Here, the special purpose is to recommend the complete crossing over of the individual to the other world and to commend him to the Holy Ghost. At this table, the Holy Ghost

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1 There is a service of mourning at the completion of the ninth night celebration after burial, but this is not a Mourning Table. Instead, it is a table of remembrance at which time the soul of the departed is commended to follow God to the land of the high sky god of the heavens and to the continued service of the greatest of all spirits.

comes and dances and the individual, himself, often comes to trump and labor. There is no need for a fourth Mourning Table, for the soul of the departed is now at peace "and he comes to the Revival with pleasure and he walk with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and he come himself." After this, it is possible to have a Memorial Table.

The Memorial Table is the second type of table, and the first ceremony is usually held two and a half years after the burial of an individual. From that time on, a Memorial Table may be held once a year, if desired. The colors are black and white and it is customary for the person being memorialized to come to trump and labor at this service.[1]

The third type of service is the Healing Table, the purpose of which is to cure. The color is white, as a rule, although when an illness is very serious, white and blue may be used. The white is for purity and the blue is for the spirit of the firmament, the sky and all the great spirits of the universe; and it represents the understanding of God the Father and the creation.

The fourth table is the Cutting and Clearing Table, the purpose of which is to "set up a power to get away from trouble." The color used is red, or in the case of very serious trouble, red and black; the red representing the blood of Jesus Christ and the fire of the Holy Ghost, the black signifying death and evil forces.

The fifth type of service is called the Uplifting Table, the nature

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1 It was explained by a shepherd that there can only be one kind of a table at any given Revival service, although in the present day they are beginning to mix them. He added that this was improper and that sometimes "things happen" because of too complex a purpose in the nature of the service.

of which is to seek the promotion of understanding and prophesy. The colors used at this table are white and blue; white for purity, representing the flesh of Jesus Christ; and blue, the spirit of the firmament and the sky and all that is beyond the universe, representing the understanding of God the Father and Creator.

Sixth in the series is the Crowning Table which is essentially a service of ordination. The color used is yellow, or gold, although white may be substituted. The yellow represents the sun, the Crown of God, the brightness of the angels, the cherubim and seraphim, and the archangels.

Before passing on to a description of a full service, or table, it may be interesting to note how one shepherd, working alone, conducts a healing service. At these private "workings" he uses his own hymn, "The God of Abraham," reads the psalms of deliverance,[1] trumps and labors to attain satisfaction, and concludes with the hymn, "While shepherds watch their flocks by night." The shepherd describes it:

> I set up a table and complain to God for assistance and I get through my desire. I pray to assist the sick to good health. . . I trump and call the Holy Spirit, bring him to me and assist. I call mostly upon the four evangelists. They come easily because they keep so close.

A ceremony which took place in a private yard beside the sea in a small fishing village outside the town of Morant Bay might be considered a typical Revival service. There was a lantern at the gate leading into the yard and a guard charged all guests threepence to enter. By the

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1 In the case of illness, there are several psalms used, chiefly Psalms XXIII and XXVII.

time the opening part of the service was under way--that is, the psalms and hymns for the shepherd, shepherdess, and governess being read or sung--there were almost four hundred people in attendance.

The shepherd and shepherdess (or Mother) wore white headdresses and stoles, the warrior and governess wore red headdresses, the bearers and bell-ringers wore white on their heads. At this particular service, there were mixed colors present because the occasion was a combination memorial and crowning ceremony. The center post of the dancing booth was wrapped in black and white, conventional colors for a Memorial Table, but the shepherd and the Mother wore white and blue for understanding and for a substitute for yellow, the proper color for a Crowning Table. The bearers were clothed in white with black edging on their headdresses. All candles on the altar and the table were white except two black ones--one at each end of the table. The woman to become a crowned governess served also as the queen, or sponsor, of the service; it was her mother for whom the memorial aspect of the ceremony was held. She was dressed in white with a bridal veil and was attended by a man and a bridesmaid.

The altar table was beautifully set with Coca Cola, bread, star apples, and other fruits. On the table was a glass of water covered with a white cloth; a pail of water, covered the same way, had been placed under the table.

As the first part of the service proceeded, the queen (who was to be crowned governess) trumped as did the others. Then the possessions began; apostles, the Holy Spirit, various saints, ancestral shepherds and shepherdesses, came down and possessed many of the Revival band. During all this period of trumping, laboring and possession, Sankey and Church of England hymns were sung.

At midnight the smashing of the first table took place and the "love feast" followed, at which time all the food was distributed to the people present. The feeling was friendly and warm and, while there were many possessions, everyone seemed relaxed and happy. After the smashing of the table there was a break in the service until about twelve-thirty when the minor officers began to trump around the altar. Many of the friends and neighbors of the family trumped at this time. This continued until approximately one-thirty in the morning when the regular presiding officers took over and the second ring was started. The signal for the beginning of the second service was the standard singing of hymns around the, now bare, altar, and the reading of some psalms. After a half hour around the altar, the shepherd led the group out into the yard outside the dancing booth, and for the next hour the band trumped in the yard around the house.

At three o'clock in the morning the procession moved through the gate toward the grave of the mother of the queen of the Revival (who was by this time acknowledged as having become a crowned governess).[1] This procession was led by a rambling man, followed by a warrior man, a bearer, and then the shepherd himself, with the rest of the officers of the band close behind. The queen and her attendants, her immediate family, and friends brought up the rear of the procession. As the grave was reached, the procession mounted the grave and it was evident that many powerful spirits were present in possession. Especially was it evident that the mother, whose grave it was, had been successfully invoked and was dancing in the body of her daughter, the queen. The trumping at the

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1 Crowned governess--as described in female officers section of this chapter, p. 87.

graveside continued until nine o'clock in the morning at which time the group proceeded back to the yard and the service was concluded.

Many people outside of Revival membership understand and attend these services. The following remarks concerning a Memorial Table were recorded from three persons who were members of other religious groups. Two of them were, respectively, a drummer and a dancing zombie of the african-Cumina cult; the other was a member of the Baptist church in Morant Bay.

> The family hires a shepherd and they set a table. This table he use black and white because the table was for mourning. Table is made up with candles, seventy-two white candles and two black. White candles is for peace and black candles is for mourning.
>
> On that table they break up the bread, put it on the melons and pieces on the table, and give it to the crowd and the crowd eats it up. They take up the table now after eating and take one outside and leave one inside with a ten lamp and two vases of flowers and make a circle and start to sing and trump and after trumping they read psalms. (The girl who reads the psalms). . . we call her a Bible pointer.

The reason for leaving the closed area of the dancing booth to dance in the yard, and the procedure at the grave was explained by the same three as follows:

> They make a circle out of the gate and that circle signifies that the spirit doesn't feel justified in the group; the bands of people have to come outside and then they cut the circle and start to sing and trumping, and during that trumping, the queen dove get in spirit, and begins to coo and then they form a long line led by the shepherd and start to sing and start to trump and march to the grave.
>
> They make a circle but not around the grave. They start to read Sankey and invite the spirit again. While they sing the next hymn, the spirit comes and begin to trump with the shepherd and many of the people join the dance. They read the Lord's Prayer and after saying the Lord's Prayer there is a hymn.
>
> The hymn is to invoke the spirit. They keep on trumping until daybreak and when the dawn the sun come up; and they leave the burial

> ground and go back to the yard. They circle outside the booth and jump in the sun and they jump until noon. . . because the spirit, he work at certain hours. They break off and they all get tea to drink and bread, and they go rest.
>
> At the part of the day when they are about to go home, they make a circle, they start to sing a chorus and sing a hymn and they read a psalm and after the psalm the Mother pray, and the governess pray, and the wheeler girl pray, and the dove pray; and after the dove the bell ringer and the Bible pointer pray, and the hunter boy. . . and the whole company read the twenty-third psalm and they read a Sankey; and after that Sankey they sing, and during the singing they trump and after trumping they break away and went home to their several abodes.

As to financial arrangements of such a Revival ceremony--that is, the money collected at the gate--these same three persons explained:

> They sum up about how much money they spent to buy candles and after they take out they paid for the candles, they put the remainder aside and take the gate money and count it. The yard owner and the shepherd divide the remainder and the shepherd distribute to his children as much as he can and as far as it can go.

In the colors, (black and white) names of tables (mourning, memorial, healing, cutting and clearing), and the purpose of the uplifting table (divination of the future), it is clear that while the Revival cult is Christian, it is closely connected culturally, to the non Christian Cumina cult group which follows in the next chapter. In Revival, the spirits are Christian, but they respond in a manner which is completely understandable to the members of Cumina whose gods are non Christian.[1]

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1 Similarities between Revival, Revival Zion and Pocomania are numerous. Pocomania and Revival Zion are slightly deviant, but part of the same movement; for example, the complex of a ground altar for "cutting and clearing" is almost identical. Because Pocomania groups have more ground altar services, their ceremony and altar were chosen to represent the entire Revival cult.

CHAPTER V

CUMINA

By far the largest number of people in the Morant Bay area attend ceremonial dances of the <u>african</u> Cumina group. It is difficult to estimate the total number, who are involved in greater or less degree, but it is possible that as many persons attend Cuminas as attend all the organized Christian churches.

It is even quite difficult to estimate how many ceremonies are held. One of the informants, a drummer, indicated that in the course of eight months from January through August in 1950, he attended or took part in sixty-seven ceremonies. By months, his attendances were as follows: January, 9; February, 6; March, 10; April, 6; May, 7; June, 3; July, 13; August, 13.

That these ceremonies are fairly evenly distributed throughout the area under study can be ascertained by a glance at the map showing locations where Cumina ceremonies were held.[1] There is no center of great activity, nor is this a backwoods affair.[2] The largest Cumina

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1 See Fig. A , p.121.

2 The ordinance holds for Cumina as Pocomania but this does not stop frequent Cuminas.

in the area was held in the largest town, Morant Bay, itself. The dances are always held for a specific purpose, many of which are concerned with a death in a family, and it appears that the entire area is equally involved in Cumina ceremonies.

Membership in this group is a matter of birth. There are evidences that this circumstance can be altered, "providing the ancestors, who attend Cumina ceremonies, make it clear that a certain person is acceptable to them." Normally, however, membership is implied because the families go back to Africa, and, therefore, are linked forever to the African gods. Two religious groups are believed, by Cumina cult members, to be close to them; one is the Revival type of sect, and the other is the Baptist denomination because "they baptize in the river and are close to the river gods, and african gods come around a great deal to protect them."

Many of the leading zombie dancers feel that they know a good deal about their family background.[1] For example, one such zombie said that his great-grandparents came from Africa; they came from the same tribe, or nation, known in Jamaica as kongo. This man then explained that he is in the same clan as his mother, and that his beezie (flesh) was from his mother, but that his spirit came from his father. A second man knew his great-grandparents on his mother's side. They were also from the kongo nation. He reported his father's side

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1 It may be helpful to repeat that a zombie is a god, an ancestral spirit, or a living cult member who has been possessed by one of these.

was Maroon and Ibo; his father's father was a descendant of a Maroon man and an Ibo woman.

It is clear that the heritage of a person is of great importance in relation to membership in african Cumina groups, and in regard to his own protection. Without a knowledge of one's ancestral background, life is considered to be dangerous. A man is made up of flesh, blood, and spirit and each of these three has a great deal of influence on the individual. The african word for flesh is beezie, for blood is deebu, and for spirit is kanuba.[1] The origins of each of these parts of a man are carefully traced because it is believed that one's whole life is a result of his bodily and spiritual make-up. It is expressed by one man this way:

> I got my blood from the father and the flesh has been built from the mother. The kongo word for flesh is beezie, and beezie comes from the mother alone. She gets her beezie from her mother and her mother's mother. The name for blood is deebu, and this comes from my father. Get some deebu from mother, but the strength of the deebu is from father. The spirit, I get it from the zombie. Get the kanuba from the father.

Another man says:

> The strength of kanuba is the translation of the body, the life force in your body, the thing that makes you live, and the personality.

He went on to say that his father got his kanuba from his father and his father's father, and that this is how it happens that a man's

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1 See glossary, Appendix B.

personality comes down from his father. Further discussion clarified the point that there were no tabus in regard to his maternal line, but there were indications of certain rules regarding the "teachment of the spirit" because of his father's kanuba. The following rather obscure explanation was given with some reluctance:

> Those rules are: I cannot teach the man my knowledge that is on call, sir. That is, going along the street and speak with a man, teach him the country, the translation of my brain at night. That is a secret that I ought to kept, also my father ought to kept it. I should do whatever my father has been done. What I teach a man, I teaches a man the knowledge of african because I had to be in motions and being supported by the spirit from my father.

The religion of the african Cumina group, then, is primarily, a family religion; much depends upon knowing where one's flesh, blood, and spirit come from.

Public Cumina dances usually begin at sundown on Friday nights and last until sundown on Saturday. A drummer, therefore, cannot possibly attend more than a fraction of the total number of ceremonies held in the area. Besides these public Cuminas, there are an unestimated number of private working ceremonies conducted by obeah men in the area.

Before describing the activities of these obeah men, it will be enlightening to reconstruct the itinerary of one drummer who ranged the entire Morant Bay area during his participation as a drummer in Cuminas. Here is his schedule for an eight month period:

January, 1950	Port Morant -- Memorial dance
	Catches Pen -- Memorial dance
	Pietry River -- Memorial dance
	Damhurst Pen -- Memorial dance
	White Horses -- general dance to help a family
	Suffix Park -- Entombment dance
	Suffix Park -- Memorial dance
	Grasset -- Entombment dance
	Dumphries -- Memorial dance
February, 1950:	Johnson -- Memorial dance
	Seaforth -- Memorial dance
	Rolland Springs -- Memorial dance
	Mount Stewart -- Memorial dance
	Calvary -- Entombment dance
	Tyro -- Entombment dance
March, 1950:	Church Corners -- Memorial dance
	Seaforth -- Memorial dance
	Seaforth -- a dance for "crop-over"[1]
	Danvers Pen -- Memorial dance
	Reve Place -- Memorial dance
	Trinityville - Memorial dance
	Moffat -- Memorial dance
	Cedar Valley -- Memorial dance
	Prospect -- Entombment dance
	Doheny Pen -- Memorial dance
April, 1950:	Seaforth -- Memorial dance
	Pietry River -- Entombment dance
	Hampton Court -- Entombment dance
	Crowley -- Entombment dance
	Portland -- Memorial dance
	Doheny Pen -- Memorial dance
May, 1950:	Rocky Point -- Entombment dance
	Rollands Field -- Entombment dance
	Church Corners -- Memorial dance
	York -- Memorial dance
	Top York -- Memorial dance
	Center York -- Memorial dance
	Seaforth -- Memorial dance
June, 1950:	Seaforth -- 2 Memorial dances
	White Hall -- Memorial dance

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1 An expression which indicates the completion of "nine nights" in Jamaica, also used to celebrate the end of a cane cutting season.

July, 1950:	Cooley -- Memorial dance
	Trinityville -- Memorial dance
	Summerset -- Memorial dance
	White Horses -- Memorial dance
	Pietry River -- Entombment dance
	Spring Garden -- 2 Memorial dances
	Bath -- Memorial dance
	Johnson Mountain -- Entombment dance
	Hampton Court -- Memorial dance
	Winchester -- Memorial dance
	Springfield -- Entombment dance
	Harkin Lodge -- Entombment dance
August, 1950:	Prospect -- Memorial dance
	Leigh Hall -- Memorial dance
	Land Top -- Entombment dance
	License -- Memorial dance
	Port Morant -- Memorial dance
	Middletown -- "Bringing in the August Morning"[1]
	Middletown -- Memorial dance
	Spring Garden -- Entombment dance
	Soho -- Memorial dance
	Stanton -- Entombment dance
	York Hill -- Memorial dance
	Pietry River -- Memorial dance
	Seaforth -- Memorial dance

Attendance at dances ranges from 100 to 400 persons. For many of the dances, arrangements are made for trucks to pick up parties throughout the territory so that the friends and members of the family may attend these important ceremonies. Often, as many as five or six trucks are used for a given ceremony. It is not unusual to visit one Cumina, paying one's respects until two in the morning, then traveling to a second Cumina in order to be there at five in the morning when the sacrifice of the goat and the dance of the queen of the Cumina are conducted. Judging from the efforts made to attend them, Cumina ceremonies would seem to be significantly important to the life of the people in this area.

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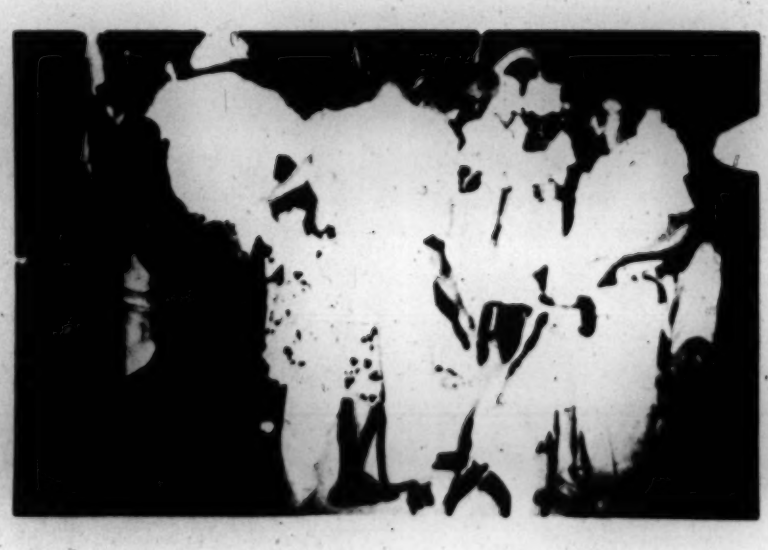
1 Celebration on the eve of Emancipation Day.

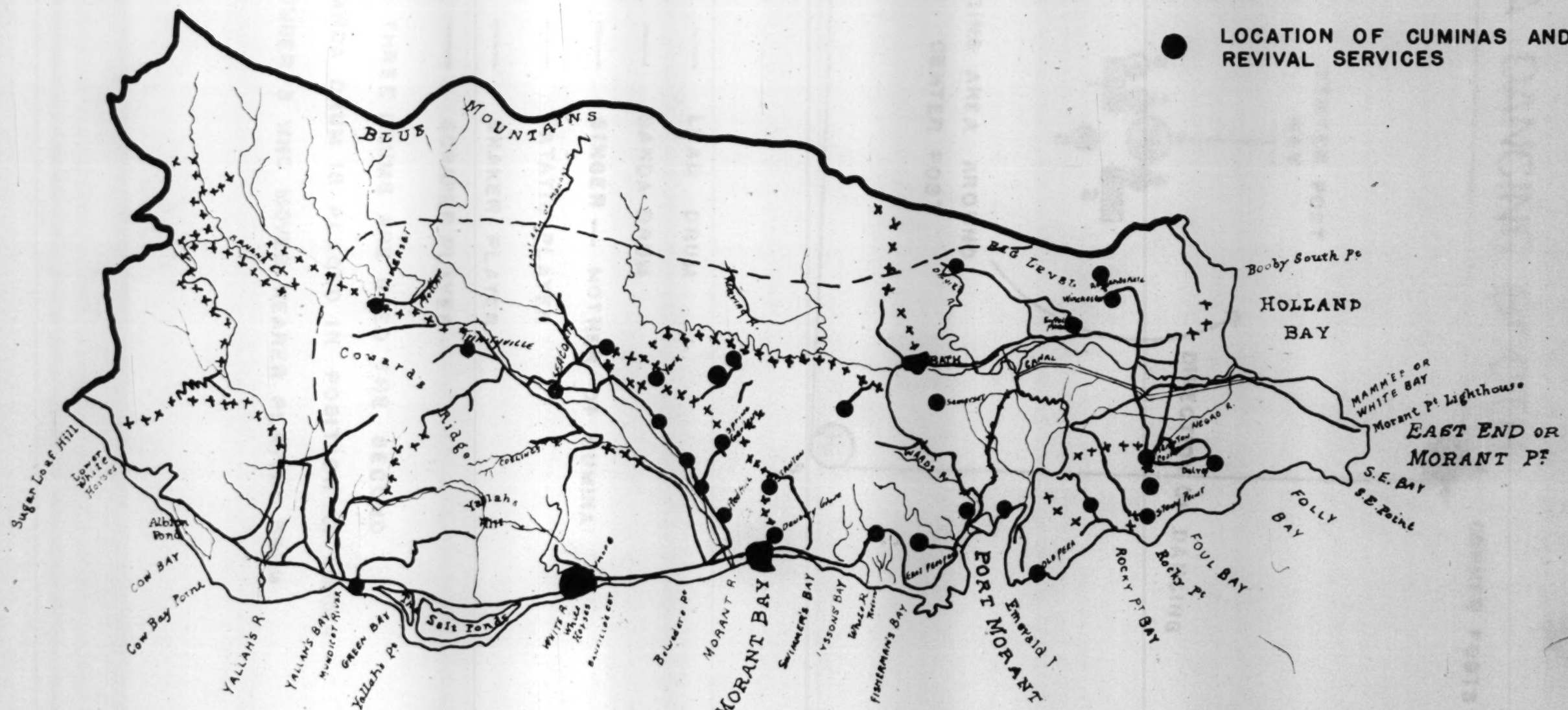
CUMINA MEMORIAL DANCE

POSSESSION



POSSESSIONS

THE ANIMAL
SACRIFICE



ST THOMAS PARISH

Although so many people have attended Cumina all their lives, they cannot remember any historical data connected with the ceremonies. They are agreed in their certainty that Cumina came from Africa; they believe that most of the gods are from Africa, although some of them now stay in Jamaica. Some gods serve special groups which appear to be tribes, or nations. These groups vary, but the five usually mentioned are mondogo, moyenge, machunde, kongo, and mumbaka; other groups, or tribes, sometimes mentioned are gaw, ibo, yoruba.

Each tribe, or group, has many spirits from its own family, or clan, which come to it. These spirits are called ancestral zombies; many of them become strong and rise to the status and power of a god. One of the greatest ancestral zombies of the area is Manuka Vola, a tribal head. He is mentioned in the following remarks of a man from the kongo group:

> We belong to the kongo nation. We got five groups; moyenge, the group the Manuka Vola serves, machunde, kongo, mondungo, and mumbaka. (These groups) are of the same flesh. There are things we (each) must not do. Moyenge cannot eat corn; Manuka Vola no like it. Mondungo do not eat plaintain; it makes them sick; they probably die; mumbaka do not eat banana. If you see a girl and she is kongo and he belong moyenge group, this is very good. Mondungo should marry into mumbaka, and machunde should marry into kongo.

These days, marriage does not always follow so strict a pattern, but it was learned that many parents would prefer to have the children "marry right."

Concerning the leading ancestral zombies, like Manuka Vola, it might be mentioned that the grave yards in Stanton, Stoney Gut, Middletown, and Spring Garden are particularly hallowed by the presence

of the graves of some of the leading ancestors of the several groups, or tribes. It is from these sections that most of the best drummers and zombie dancers and singers come.

Membership and organization of <u>african</u> Cumina center around relationships and neighborhoods. The dead, as well as the living, are counted in active membership in the religious life of the community.

It has been mentioned before that, unlike Trinidad, Bahia, or Haiti, there are no formal cult houses, as such, in this part of Jamaica. However, the "scientist," or obeah man, belonging to the Cumina cult, sets up somewhat similar private working facilities and trains initiates. For a family ceremony, representatives are chosen by the family to direct a Cumina; for special working ceremonies, an obeah man conducts the services, assisted by his permanent staff. In the case of one obeah man, his assistants included his wife, a zombie dancer, two drummers, and three or four initiates. Zombie assistants also were employed to work in the cook-house mixing herbs and potions; other drummers and zombies were often called in for a specific private working.

This obeah man's yard included a cluster of houses and sheds surrounded by a split bamboo fence. In the front section of his own house, there was a store in which he sold rum, herbs, and potions. The other buildings were a house for assistants, a cock-house, and a permanent dancing booth. The plan of his yard is given in Fig. p. 133.

Another obeah man had a similar yard located on a hill and away from the road. The path to this yard was lined with stones painted white, and the yard was fenced on all sides. There were wattle-and-

daub houses for living quarters, one house for private workings, and living quarters for the obeah man, and a permanent dancing booth. A graveyard was located at the rear of the yard (Fig. 134). His staff consisted of a drummer, four women which included one of his wives, two drummer zombies who came upon special occasions, and two young boys who had come to live with him for a period of time to serve as assistants. His wife, at this address, served him as a reader at private workings.

A second wife ran his establishment in the city of Kingston. Here, he maintained an office and a working yard. This establishment also included a store, a working room behind the store, and an enclosed shed behind the working room where herbs and potions were blended to make charms. Whereas the first obeah man mentioned considered himself to be a "scientist" and herbalist, primarily engaged in mixing potions to drink or use upon all kinds of occasions, this second obeah man dealt more especially in magic, charms, and the setting of Cumina dances. He was noted as a great dancing zombie and was much in demand throughout the Morant Bay area.

Many other obeah men have local reputations but are not used outside their neighborhood areas. These men include shepherds of Revival and Pocomania who also practice obeah, as well as members of Cumina and Maroon groups.

Obeah men hold private workings during the week for the sick, for people in trouble, and for people with various problems. From Thursday on, they usually travel to other yards where they assist in the preparations for a family Cumina ceremony. It is the obeah man

who supervises and directs proper feeding for all the gods and ancestors, and assists in all the final preparations for the ceremony. Late Friday afternoon, he begins to "set up the dance." How an obeah man works is best illustrated in the following description of a public Cumina, called "Bringing in the August Morning", held to celebrate Emancipation Day in Jamaica:[1] (from the field notes)

> We arrived at seven in the evening in Middletown. The drums had not arrived. When the drums came, the obeah man sprayed the drums with rum, lit the rum with a match, and let the fire burn itself out. King Zombie-Oto, Kish, and many personal ancestral zombies were then invoked. After this, the drums were taken to the dancing floor and "set", which involved feeding rum to the gods and other zombies, and chalking the proper ring upon the floor of the booth. The dance began.
>
> The beginning period of this dance seemed to lack organization. For thirty minutes, no one danced except that some very young children attempted it to the best of their ability. This dance was quite different from many of the other Cumina dances in that the custom, "Bringing in the August Morning", a memorial of thanksgiving for having been freed from slavery, is quite new in this area. It deviates from the traditional Cumina which is held for a specific memorial, for the need of one family, and is not of such a general character. In this case, the ordinary controls were handled through a number of family heads instead of one family. The nature of this Cumina, as a memorial and victory dance for the whole group, meant that many families and their ancestors, and many nations of ancestors, would be invoked to come to this celebration.
>
> The obeah man was very active at the beginning of the dance and stopped procedures frequently for special invocations. Bilah songs were sung, and invocations were made to specific sky, earthbound, and ancestral zombies.[2]
>
> About nine-thirty, the drums started to get "hot."[3]

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1 See p.124, this chapter.

2 Bilah songs, Appendix C.

3 The term "hot" is used by africans to describe a fast rim beat on the drum which is believed to indicate the presence of zombies in the drum.

All through the evening, until after midnight, the dancing kept pace with the drums, growing hotter and hotter. There were intervals during which the dancing was stopped, but the counter-clockwise dancing circle remained filled with dancers, and many different african ancestral zombies came and danced. Some zombies danced in straight lines from the center pole on out, and others danced around the ring. This was because many of the ancestral zombies who returned were part african and part Maroon. The obeah man had a feeling that many of the ancestral zombies did not like to dance on a concrete floor, and therefore were trying to pull the people out into the earthen areas surrounding the dancing booth. This was apparent in the behavior of many of the dancers; but it was also apparent that the drummers and principal dancers intended to keep the circle in the prescribed and normal manner.

The first half of the evening was not under adequate control. As this dance was not supported by a single family, more people were admitted to the dance booth who had not come by invitation, as they would have if it had been a Memorial or Entombment dance. Many of these people were not zombies, and seemed to know very little about african dancing; in fact, they showed less knowledge than the children earlier in the evening.

Several hours later, an incident occurred as a result of the lack of control at this dance. It was the kind of thing that rarely happens at a family dance. At midnight, an hour preceding the incident, there were eight zombies under possession. Dancing grew hotter and many more came into the dance, and assisted in organizing the controls necessary for the care of zombies under possession. Among those assisting were eight or ten people who were really strong zombies. There were about 200 people in the dancing group and thirty or forty who seemed not to have enough training to know how to take care of themselves, and who therefore kept some of the strong zombies very busy. Lack of confidence could be noted even among some of the drummers although the drum section was headed by four good drummers; many of the other drummers were banda players and were not capable of handling the lead drums.[1]

Suddenly, at one in the morning, a young pregnant woman was seized by a zombie. This immediately galvanized into action the most seasoned zombies as well as the obeah man. They caught the girl and held her on a zombie's lap until the worst spasms were over. Then the leading drummer, who was also a

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1 Banda is the name of the bass drum; the higher pitched drum is called the playing, or lead drum.

zombie dancer, danced with the girl, holding her in such a way as to protect her abdominal area; this was a beautiful demonstration of the skill and control of a fine dancing zombie. Protecting this girl took all his attention. She seemed to be about fourteen years old and well along in her pregnancy.

It was learned that the zombie who possessed the young woman was the earthbound god,Leah. It was explained that had Leah been allowed to possess the girl completely, it could have proved fatal to the unborn child, or the young mother, or both.

Between one and three in the morning, the dancing was very hot. A large number of ancestral zombies came to the dance and the few assisting zombies were kept busy. The concrete floor added extra hazards because many people fall to the floor in the first stages of possession.

Several times during the evening, the obeah man brought me to the center of the dancing ring to become a special invocation object. It later developed that I was being tested to see if the gods were willing to have me continue to grow in understanding, and to find out if my own protection was strong enough to withstand the powerful spirit life about me.

After three in the morning, when, according to custom, dancing is stopped and the strong gods drummed to, the field party decided to walk the nine miles home. We were accompanied by the obeah man, who was now intent upon introducing us to his dead ancestors. During the morning hours, we stopped at three graveyards where we were formally presented to the dead. This was a process which began at the moment we approached the graveyard when the obeah man called out to the dead, informing them of our arrival, who we were, and why he was bringing us. We then stepped up to the graves and sprayed rum; first the obeah man sprayed rum, called out my name, and introduced me to the family; then he had me spray rum and greet the family. After this, I was instructed to take a token from the graves -- small stones, herbs, leaves, informing the family of what I was taking. In this manner, the pact was considered sealed between us. This was repeated at each graveyard, and in the course of the three yards visited, I met personally almost a dozen ancestral zombies whose identities I had seen dancing in the bodies of living dancers at Cuminas throughout the area.

Another example of the role of an obeah man is indicated in procedures undertaken by one of them in the "setting" of an Entombment dance. An Entombment is always preceded by a Memorial dance which

begins earlier in the evening. The following is a description of the setting of the Entombment while the Memorial dance was in progress in the yard:

> After several hours of dancing, the obeah man began to set the Entombment ceremony. The officers of the dance were brought into the family house, and the ceremony proceeded with the setting of the drums and the preliminary steps of preparing the ancestor to be entombed. Entombment is the last rite that can be offered to a deceased member of a family; it is necessary that it be perfectly executed.
>
> Five persons took parts in the preparing and setting of the ceremony; the obeah man, the master of ceremonies, the male head of the family, a drummer, and myself. While the drums were set -- with the playing drum and banda facing each other directly in front of the door -- the head of the family went to the grave to bring back grave dirt and stones.
>
> In the center, between the drums, a circle was drawn in chalk and rum was poured inside it. The obeah man asked me to light the rum, and the two drummers (the master of ceremonies taking the other drum) began the special beats invoking the gods of the drums, beginning with King Zombie-Oto. When the head of the family returned, the grave dirt and stones were placed in the circle; the rum was poured on this and lighted. The obeah man now called the spirit of the ancestor to be entombed from her grave.
>
> As the fire burned itself out, the drums took up a special beat invoking the principal gods and ancestors of Cumina. Rum was blown throughout the room; east, west, south, and north; the gods came into the drums and then into the body of the obeah man in rapid succession. As he greeted each god, he was briefly possessed by him. The obeah man was the only one in the room strong enough to withstand what seemed to be a series of physical shocks. During this period, the obeah man and the master of ceremonies danced over the grave dirt, their feet rooted to the floor, their bodies expressing all the movement.
>
> Finally, the ancestor to be entombed came from the grave, through the grave dirt, into the playing drum, was greeted and controlled at that point by the obeah man. The method of control was a vase of red and white flowers carried by the obeah man as he danced. These flowers had special significance for this deceased woman and were used to capture her attention as an ancestral zombie. By now, the small room was filled with gods

and ancestral zombies, who, according to those present, lined the walls. It had been previously explained that, at a setting ceremony, principal zombies and ancestors come into the drum, then stand along the four walls of the house and watch the setting. This is called "standing around the walls" or "lining the walls." At this part of the ceremony the drumming was rapid and strong, and the music limited to Jamaican country songs.

When all the ancestral zombies of the family were in the room, three mango leaves taken from the graves of each of the three recent dead of the family, and three leaves from the grave of the family zombie head, Manuka Vola, and three grave pebbles from the ancestral head of the mondungo nation were sprayed with rum and handed to one person to hold in his hand. In this manner, the ancestral zombies present were controlled. At this point, possessions ceased.

With the setting ceremony completed, the drums were moved out into the yard. The person used to control the ancestral zombies was then ceremonially introduced to all the officers of Cumina, following which the Queen of the Cumina and her attendants proceeded into the dancing booth, each carrying a white lighted candle. At this moment, the person holding control of the ancestral zombies released the leaves and stones from his hand and possessions occurred immediately.

As the procession moved forward to the dancing booth, the obeah man led the way, blowing rum along the path, followed by the master of ceremonies, the attendants, and finally the Queen. The Mother of the Cumina (the ranking female officer) danced at the end of the procession.

The Queen wore a white bridal veil and dress; blue and red ribbons were attached to her dress. The Mother wore a black dress with a white collar, and a red cloth on her head for the zombie who was being entombed.

The obeah man wore no special marks of office. During this Entombment, he served in the capacities of a drummer, a dancer, and a singer. He was the principal dancing zombie and assumed the over-all direction of the ceremony.

It should be noted that it is required of an obeah man to know the beats, feedings, dancing habits, and methods of controlling large numbers of gods and ancestral zombies. In this part of Jamaica, it is considered impossible to become a good obeah man in less than twenty-five years of active work, which means that a good obeah man is in his

forties. Many informants indicated that most obeah men die in their early fifties, which, literally true or not, suggests something of the strenuous nature of their calling.

It is not uncommon for an obeah man to work two days and nights on one ceremonial. In the case of the two dances mentioned above, the obeah man left his home at six in the morning, went to Middletown, set the dance and worked with the dance until three the next morning; walked the nine miles to Morant Bay stopping at the graveyards to invoke and greet the dead along the way; caught a bus and went to Port Morant where he worked all day on the second dance until three the next morning. At three, he sat in a chair in the family house and slept until almost five o'clock. He then went on with the ceremony and worked actively until the close of the Entombment ceremony at high noon when a cement slab was poured over the grave and a feast was begun.

Even many of the lesser obeah men (lesser in terms of the appraisal of the people in the area) are men of ability, serious purpose, and knowledge. They do not appear to fit the picture of craftiness and ignorance often presented by upper class West Indians.

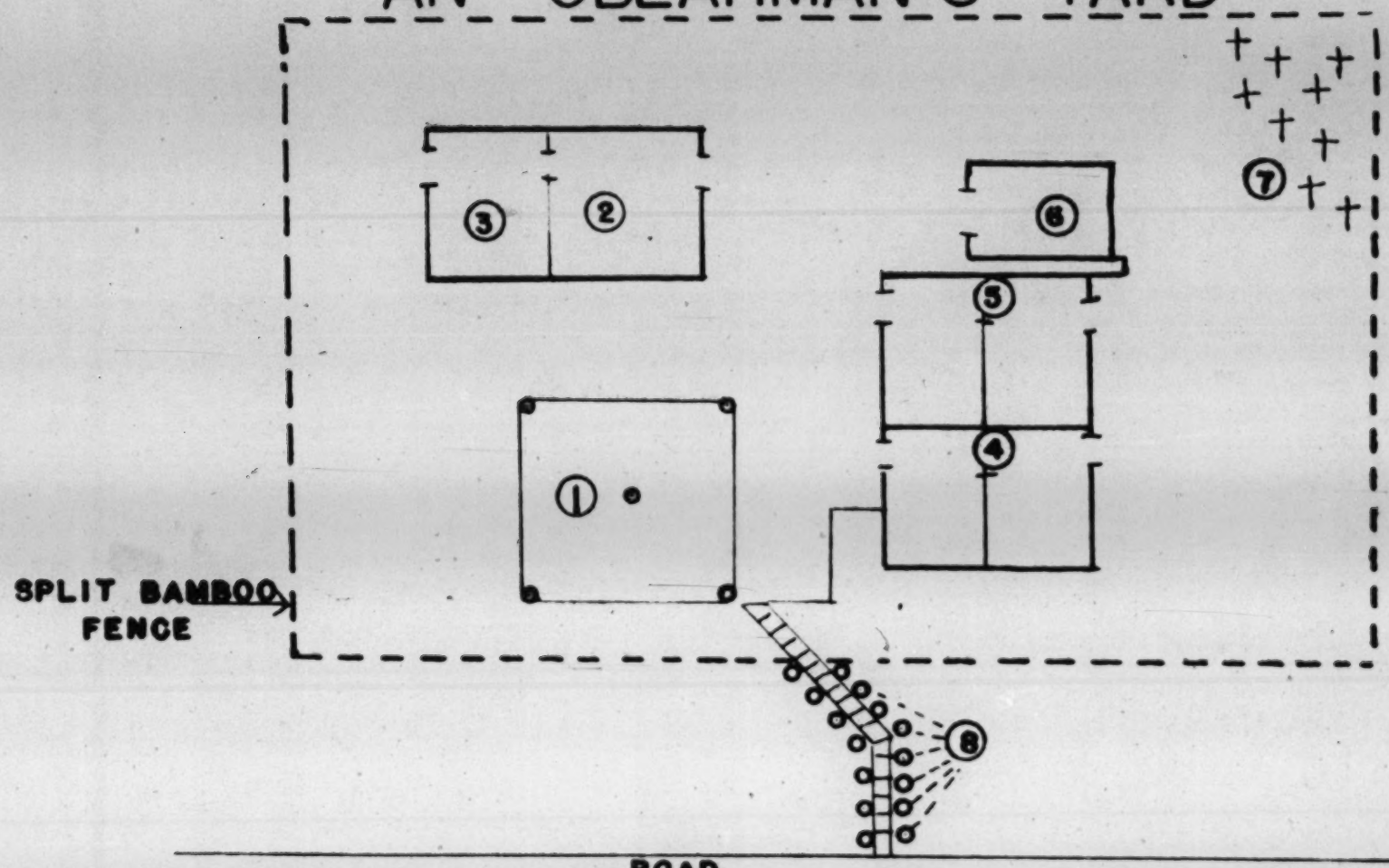
The training of these men begins when, as small children, they are carried by their parents to Cumina. When they are seven or eight years old, they begin to help the drummers in practice periods. They are allowed to play this drum during the early hours of a dance. After puberty, they continue to attend and assist at Cuminas, finally playing the lead drum and assisting obeah men in private workings.

At some time during these years, their "head is turned." They become possessed by a god or an ancestral zombie. After this, they are possessed by other gods and zombies, and dance as zombies, themselves, at ceremonies. As they work with obeah men and other drummers, singers, and dancing zombies, they learn to recognize more gods and ancestral zombies, how to feed them, where they live, what they do, how they can be called and controlled. One of the greatest drummers in this area can recognize more than one hundred sky and earthbound gods and ancestral zombies; in a few years, he will undoubtedly become an obeah man.

Obeah men become counsellors, doctors, ministers to the people and are, in general, greatly respected. The evil ones who "set things on people" are feared rather than respected. The following statement will help to illustrate how one who uses obeah, believes:

> An obeah man is a man of power. He got plenty zombies and duppies. He know plenty things. He know how to put on and take off. He very strong. You get to be an obeah man by a vision or a dream, by a zombie which is his god and he serve. You got to have your head turned. You got to dance to the gods. Then he invoke a kanuba and he works with the duppies. An obeah man use the fallen angels, too, who really are sky gods who got fallen from the sky and become earthbound. Some are earthbound gods. Obeah men call many kanuba by name, too. They not come otherwise. You see, a zombie is a god and a person is called a zombie if he dances to that god or has his head turned. When that person dies, the zombie leaves his body and settles in someone else's head and dead man become kanuba, duppy for spirit. All the dead are kanuba whether they are zombies or whether they have not been zombies. So when you make a general call for duppies or zombies, you call kanuba. But if they had been zombies in their lifetime, or possessed, or if their heads have been turned, they then continue to be zombies.

AN OBEAHMAN'S YARD



KEY

1 - DANCING BOOTH

2 - INNER WORKING BOOTH

3 - OBEAHMAN'S BED ROOM

4 - WIFE AND CHILDREN

5 - ATTENDANT'S QUARTERS

6 - HERB MIXING COOK HOUSE

7 - PRIVATE CEMETERY

8 - WHITE GUARD STONES

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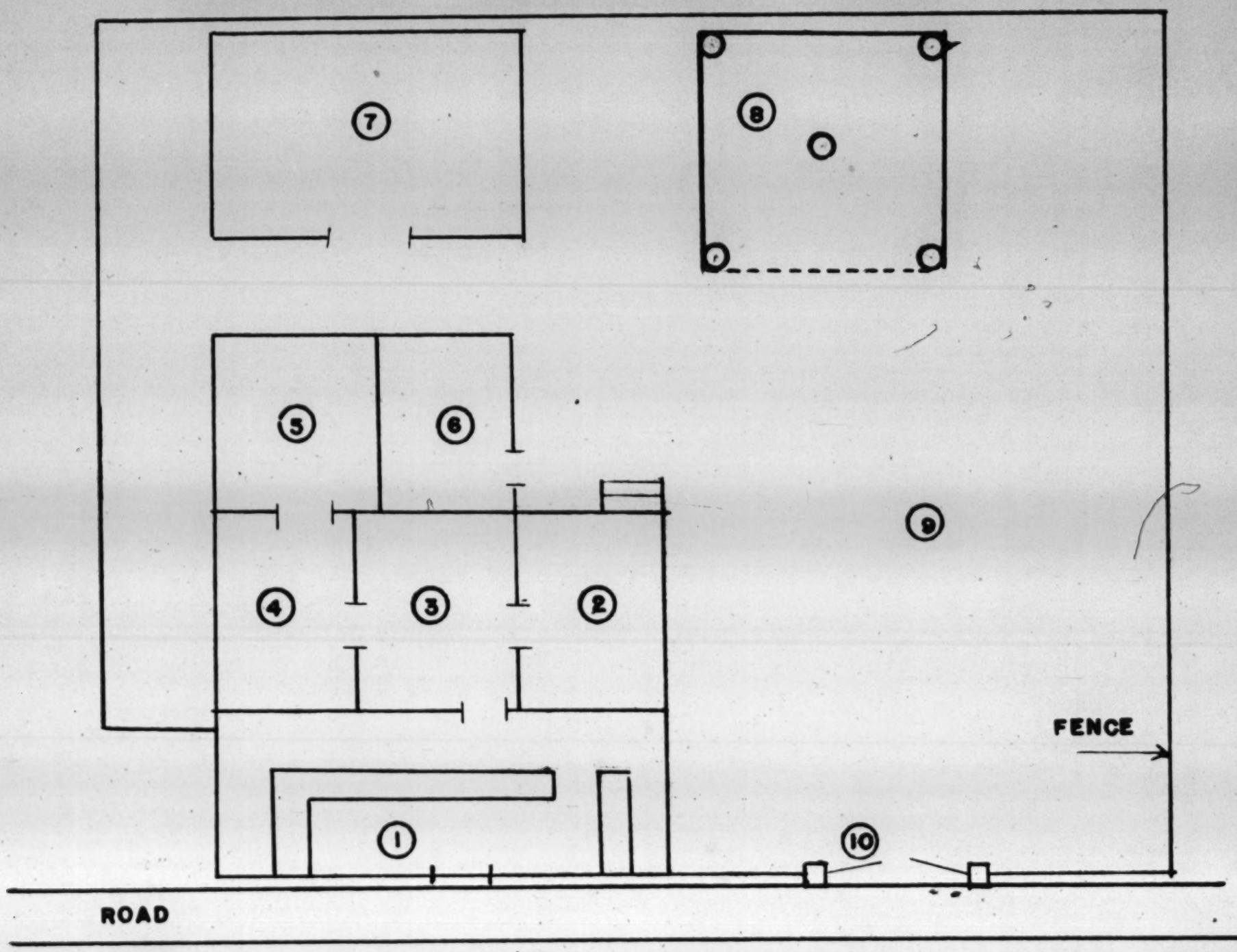
ANOTHER OBEAHMAN'S YARD



KEY

1 - STORE
2 - PORCH
3 - LIVING ROOM
4+5 - BED ROOM
6 - OBEAHMAN'S BED ROOM
7 - HERBALIST COOK HOUSE
8 - ENCLOSED DANCING BOOTH
9 - OPEN DANCING AREA
10 - GUARDED GATE

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To invest a person with a protecting zombie, it is necessary to bathe the skull of the particular ancestral zombie in rum; then, to touch the head of the person to be invested three times with the skull; during this process, the zombie is instructed to protect his new charge at all times. According to one man this is done for the following reasons:

> Well, he done that to protect you. X's spirit was right there in the room. You white man. You in danger so he touch X's skull to your head three times. From now on, X serves you and protects you. X now with you many times.

Also greatly respected are the drummers of ability who play for the god-zombies, and who, in almost every instance, are zombie dancers as well as drummers. The outstanding drummer in each neighborhood is known and recognized as such throughout the Morant Bay area. There are at least ten of these, and dozens of less outstanding, but capable, drummers on the playing drum.[1] Several hundred men are capable of playing the banda drum, and also the other instruments such as the shaker, scraper, and the stick (also called the clapper or catatic).[2]

Two or three drummers are used at a dance, although at a large dance there may be as many as six lead drummers together with many who play the less important instruments.[3] Normally, not more than four men comprise the instrument section at any one time; this is occasionally augmented by extra players and a singer.

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1 The playing drum, sometimes called the lead drum, is described in this chapter, p. 172.

2 The banda, or bass drum and the catatic are described in this chapter, p.172.

3 Lead drummers are those who play the lead, or playing drums.

For the first five years that a drummer plays the lead drum, it is claimed that he does not know as many gods as may come to him, for he has been drumming a comparatively short time. His training comes from working with other drummers at Cuminas and from helping obeah men in private workings. One man began to drum for dances when he was seventeen years old. He never played for Maroon obeah men, or Maroon dances, although he is half Maroon, because he learned <u>african</u> Cumina drumming and the Maroons have a different style. Today, he plays as often as there are dances in the area.

Sometimes, the drummers get together to practice by themselves. At such times, they observe the ceremonial use of rum, for they say:

> It is just a rule that you keep that way now for any time we punch a drum. The gods come down sometime when you practice. They come by and come right into the drums. You feel them when they come. You have a different song come from the drum and you feel them with your fingers. It feel like something that come in and run around the drum, like playing a guitar when the string bursts -- you get a different sound.

The drummers also say, in connection with the learning period, "It depends upon your brain. You can have a quick brain, you only have to play for a god one time, next time you can play him."

Drummers begin on the <u>banda</u> which beats to King Zombie-Oto and sustains the same beat always. The man mentioned above played the <u>banda</u> at Cumina dances for six years before he was permitted to "mount" the playing drum.

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1 Although Maroon and <u>african</u> Cumina people live side by side, their ceremonial drumming, as well as their gods, are different.

To become a playing drummer, then is a goal to which many young men aspire, but few achieve. There are hundreds of dancing zombies, but only a few dozen good drummers capable of handling the playing "case" or treble drum.[1] Drummers range in age from seventeen to men in their fifties. It is a position of honor and the mark of a strong personality. Obeah men have all been drummers at one time, for only by this method can they learn to invoke the spirits. The drummer's art is solely for men, while it is possible for women to play the shaker, grater, or stick.[2]

All zombies are invoked through the use of drums and songs. There are two classes of songs, Bilah and country songs.[3] Although all songs fall into these two classes, the songs are similar in type. The country songs, more often than not, seem to have a lower percentage of English words. Both types are sung by a singer whose role is given prestige by the cult because of the importance of the songs to the ceremonial. The singer sings the verses and the chorus responds after each line. He or she stands in the center of the dancing booth together with the drummers and other players. Male singers are drummers or obeah men, but female singers are strong dancing zombies. For the female singer, Cumina has a standard office called Mother of the Cumina. She is also referred to as the "black and white girl" and is either a relative or appointed by the family

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1 The playing drum is often referred to as the playing case, or treble drum, as it is the smaller of the two drums and plays the higher notes.

2 The stick, or catatic, is played by striking it against the center pole of the dancing booth.

3 Folk songs in Jamaica. See Appendix C.

holding the Cumina. The master of ceremonies of a Cumina dance wears a black and white cord placed around his neck, which is the badge of his office. A number of times during a ceremony, the female singer will wear his black and white cord, especially at such times as when the master of ceremonies is not present or is possessed. The qualifications for a Mother of Cumina are predicated upon a knowledge of folk songs and a great deal of strength to withstand the strong zombies who come close and sometimes enter to possess her. It is not unusual for her to dance to three or more zombies in one evening, and a great deal of her time is spent in attending cult members who are under possession. As Mother of the Cumina, she is the chief assistant to the master of ceremonies; her singing is, therefore, only one part of her duties. The women who hold these positions grow in stature with the cult group, and continue this activity vigorously into their fifties and sixties. The multiple duties of a singer can be better understood by describing a Memorial Cumina held in the town of Seaforth:

> At the beginning of the dance when the drums were invoking the first gods, the Mother of the Cumina stood by the drummers and sang the songs, thereby assisting in the invocation of the gods. Bilah songs were sung and there was almost no evidence of possession during the first hour. Occasionally, the rim beats on the drums were heavy indicating that the gods were coming down, but no one was possessed; it is said, under these circumstances, that the gods "come to see what is happening but do not dance."
>
> As the music got "hotter", the Mother often danced about the ring, and it was evident that the gods were being attracted to the pole of the dancing booth. By ten o'clock, the ring was filled with dancers and a number of gods and ancestral zombies were very close in the booth. The drums were sounding

higher and hotter, and some of the dancing zombies were now dancing under possession.

Gambling games were underway outside the booth in the yard; this is part of the ceremonial, for many of the ancestral zombies enjoyed gambling games and still, as spirits, enjoy the activity.

As we stood outside the dancing booth, the smell of ganja was heavy in the air. A good deal of it was being sold and smoked, even in the early hours of this dance. By ten-thirty, many people were showing the effects of their ganja smoking.

A full orchestra of instruments was present, but clappers on the post were not used until eleven o'clock, when strong earthbound gods and ancestral zombies came down and danced.

The black and white on the center post was fixed in a different manner than that usually found at a Memorial dance where the parents of the zombie being memorialized were both <u>african</u>. Usually, the black and white ribbons are run around the post in circles, black followed by white. At this dance, the post was wrapped, but the black and white ran up and down the post in vertical rather than horizontal lines. This, it was explained, indicated that the dance was being conducted by <u>african</u> members of the family, the deceased person being half Maroon and half <u>african</u>.

Presently, there was a note of danger in the drums, and in the actions of the officers of the Cumina; possessions came rapidly. The Mother of the Cumina began to wheel, and some of the wheeling gods came down immediately. Within a few minutes, she began to make a clearing motion to clear out one end of the booth. Her dance carried her out at an angle from the center post, a distance of forty to a hundred feet, until she cleared a path directly west from the center of the dancing booth to the section of the yard where the family dead were buried. Suddenly, the dance of the Mother was directed to the grave of the father of the person being memoralized; she fell upon the grave, invoked the spirit of the zombie to come out, and danced back into the ring. She was under possession, dancing in a strong fashion, striking with her fists as she cleared. To the others present, there were indications in her actions that they were in the presence of unfriendly, dangerous zombie spirits. Other possessions occurred at this time, also dancing in a different manner to any which had appeared previously.

It was learned that the reason for clearing this area was to receive the Maroon gods, for it was the father of the person being memorialized who was a Maroon, and the Maroon gods and ancestors were coming down to this dance. They could not dance in the african circle around the center pole, but must dance in their own area outside the ring; Maroon and african gods to not agree.

The Mother of the Cumina began to light matches, throwing them out into the crowd. This was to draw the Maroon zombies from the ring and into the new area which had been cleared for them. Suddenly, the first Maroon god was manifested in the possession of a young man, himself a Maroon. He was the relative of the deceased person, and a gangfrara. (A Maroon term with the same meaning as zombie.) He dashed back and forth in the path from the dancing ring to the grave, jumping and leaping with long steps. This possession was recognized as the arrival of the Maroon god, Cudjo, at the dance. (It should be noted here that Captain Cudjo was the leader of the Maroons against the British in the 18th century; today he is the strongest ancestral god of the Maroon cult.)

Cudjo, dancing in strong, swinging, leaping motions, was attracted by the carbide lamps which lighted the dancing booth. He called for fire. Matches were lighted for him, and the Mother of the Cumina danced around the fire of the carbide lamp which had been brought out of the booth and placed in the center of the newly cleared path. She and the young Maroon dancer, possessed by Cudjo, danced in the same manner. At this time, the Mother was in possession of the ancestor who was being memorialized; this person had always been attracted to Cudjo as her father was a member of Cudjo's own line and had, often in his life, danced to this god.

The crowd around the booth was visibly fearful of the power of this god; they kept backing away at a respectful distance from his path. At the same time, in the african dancing ring, many strong possessions occurred among the zombie dancers. It was as if the african spirits had been called there because Cudjo had come.

One of the african gods who came was Macoo, the god who causes the possessed zombie to climb up poles and trees backwards. The possessed zombie leaped from the floor in a half turn with head down and landed half way up the pole of the dancing booth, feet first. Simultaneously, another possessed dancer began to climb forward up a post. The booth heaved under the impact of these two possessions; the dancing zombie assistants and the master of ceremonies worked to control the two possessed zombies. In a short time, all gods were under control, and the dance continued with two sets of possessed persons, african around the ring, Maroon at right angles from the ring.

During the evening the Mother of the Cumina danced with many gods and ancestors. She was possessed nine times in the twelve hour period. She could come out of a possession in an instant, and be calm. An example of this occurred after she had danced for a half hour with the ancestral spirit being memorialized. Suddenly, she wavered and stopped. She came to the edge of the dancing booth, walked calmly over to the gaming section outside the booth where the men were gambling. She talked to a man there, leaned on his shoulder for a while, walked away to the other side of the booth, took a ganja stick from a man, and took several puffs, completely relaxed. She seemed to be calm and unaware of the drum beats close by; then the drums began to speak to her again. She swayed a moment, and danced back into the ring under full possession of another god.

All during the period from midnight to two in the morning, the Maroon god, Cudjo, danced. Four to six dancing zombies kept constant attendance on him. Finally, a lamp was procured and placed on the ground. Cudjo reduced his movements to a fast walking pace, walking sixty to seventy feet one way, then back into the edge of the ring, back and forth, leaping across the flames of the lamp in the center of the path each time. Sometimes, he performed a special dance over the flame, jumping back and forth over the light. Gradually, fear of him left the crowd and a certain belligerence was detected among the <u>africans</u> not dancing and filled with ganja. Cudjo's presence seemed to be resented.

To free themselves from Cudjo, the drummers and singers began to sing a <u>bilah</u> song, "Maroon Gone."[1] There are many more verses, but the following three will be sufficient to indicate the character of the song:

<u>Verse 1.</u>
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone,
Gal I wonder when my dee you, go down to see,
Maroon gone, oh par Hayfield a ball,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh gal oh, Maroon gone.
Maroon gone, oh by yea, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh gal oh dee, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone,
Gal I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone,
Darky nation, why oh Maroon gone,

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1 See Appendix C.

Down we gone down Seaforth Road, Maroon gone, go down go see,
Maroon gone, oh by Jasmine a road, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh by oh, Maroon gone.

Verse 2.
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone,
Gal I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone,
Jesse Miller, oh why oh, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh by oh, Maroon gone,
Miss I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone.
Maroon gone, oh by oh, Maroon gone.
Gal I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone, go long go see,
Maroon gone, oh to Hayfield aball,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh by oh, Maroon gone.
Gal I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone,
Gal I wonder when me tell you, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone.
Maroon ball you, why oh Maroon gone,
Gal I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone, go down go see
Don brought Andrew to call out my name.

Verse 3.
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone,
Gal I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone, go down go see
Maroon gone, oh by Jasmina road, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone.
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, boy why oh, Maroon gone,
Boy I wonder me dee you, Maroon gone, go long go see
Maroon gone out by Hayfield wood,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone.
Gal I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone go down go see
John Cranes call out my name, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh why oh, Maroon gone,
Gal I wonder when me dee you, Maroon gone,
Maroon gone, oh Maroon gone.

The Mother of the Cumina and a team of dancing zombie assistants worked hard to release the possessed gangfrara, the young man dancing to Cudjo. This began by restricting the full leap of the dancer. Finally, the Mother barred the open path and they danced with the Maroon until Cudjo was out of him.

> Just as this release was accomplished a new spirit came into the ring, screaming, "Fire! Fire!" and singing a Sankey hymn. (It was learned that this was a Flenkee spirit and that in life the person being memorialized had been interested not only in Cumina but in Revival and Flenkee.) The Mother went directly to this newly possessed person and began to work with her.

From the account of this one ceremony, it can be seen that the Mother of the Cumina holds an important position in the cult, for much depends on her strength and intelligence.

The dancing zombie. This is a title which describes a member of the african Cumina cult who has experienced possession by a god, and who dances to the gods or spirits of this cult group. The gods may be sky gods, earthbound gods, or ancestral zombies; a person may be possessed by any of these.

Becoming a zombie is the second level of membership in this group, into which a person is actually born.[1] Usually, a dancing zombie has special gods who come to him, or her, regularly. It is said that a zombie will normally have three who dance with him more or less regularly, but no one is limited to this and many other gods may come to him from time to time. It will be recalled that the Mother of Cumina, mentioned above, had nine possessions in one ceremony.

The possession dance of a dancing zombie is called myal. The dancing zombie dances to one god at a time. As a dancing zombie experiences more and more possessions, he, or she, is considered to become a strong zombie; this indicates the feeling of the group that this person is growing in understanding and ability. Dancing zombies

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1 All children born to african parents are automatically members of Cumina cult.

learn the beats and songs of many gods. As they grow in stature, they learn how to assist the obeah men, how to care for and feed the gods, how to assist the master of ceremonies and other Cumina officers, and how to care for people under possession.

Officers appointed by a family for a Cumina. A family giving a Memorial or Entombment dance makes all the arrangements and appoints the following principal functionaries:

(1) The master of ceremonies.
(2) The Mother of the Cumina, singer; also spoken of as "the black and white girl."
(3) The Queen of the Cumina.
(4) The Queen's attendants.
(5) Principal drummers and musicians.
(6) Gate keepers.
(7) Concession operators; games, food, and drink.
(8) The obeah man.
(9) The family head.

The master of ceremonies. This man is the chief officer of Cumina; quite often, he is a drummer, but seldom plays when he is the master of ceremonies. He is responsible for every aspect of the dance, including the preparation of the ceremonial food, the proper feeding of the gods, securing the drummers and musicians, and the coordination of the games and concessions. He supervises and assists the obeah man in setting the dance and invoking the drums. He sees that the gate of the yard is properly guarded in order to seal off evil influences.

He dances with the Mother of the Cumina. He forms a procession of the Queen and her attendants, escorts them into the ring, and dances with them. He prepares the sacrificial goat for its presentation into the ring; sometimes, he delegates one of his assistants to dance with the goat. He kills the goat, and supervises

the ceremonial feeding of the ancestral zombies and other spirits. He wears the cords of his office around his neck which are woven from black and white threads.

The Mother of the Cumina. She is the chief female officer, and assists the master of ceremonies and the family in preparations for the dance. She assists in setting the drums by leading in the singing and invocation ceremony. As the dance proceeds, she cares for people under possession and is always possessed, herself. She retires to the family house to prepare for the procession of the Queen and her attendants; the order of this procession is first, the master of ceremonies, then the Queen followed by her attendants, and finally, the Mother of the Cumina. At the grave, the Mother and the master of ceremonies dance and feed the spirits.

The Queen of the Cumina. Generally, but not always, this person is related to the direct family line. In some ways, she is the most important officer to the Cumina, for it is she and her procession who dance for the ancestors and for the immediate dead being honored. Her principal role comes after midnight when the dance of the Queen and her attendants takes place; this is the formal presentation of the desires and wishes of the living family to the dead ancestors. Her dress always includes a bridal veil, and is as beautiful as the family can afford.

The Queen's attendants. These are female dancing zombies who assist the queen in her duties. There are usually four to six of them, and they wear white dresses for the ceremony.

Principal drummers and musicians. An average orchestra for a Cumina consists usually of from two to three drums, a clapper, a shaker, and a grater.[1] There is only one lead drum; that is, if three drums were used, one drum is a lead drum and the other two are bandas. Two to four lead drummers, alternating on the lead drum, are likely to be present at a Memorial dance; there may be many more banda drummers present who will take their turns at the bandas. The other instruments are played by male dancing zombies as a rule; infrequently, one of them might be a female dancing zombie. All drummers are dancing zombies and well schooled in ceremonial procedures.

Gate keepers. Three or four watchers, or guards, are delegated to take the tax as people come into the yard, and to guard against unwanted intruders. Quite often, the gate keepers are members of the family. The god who keeps the gate, Famous (or Kish), is invoked and fed so that there will be a spirit guard at the gate to control the spirit world.[2]

The usual tax at the gate is a threepence. Generally, one is given a special invitation to attend a Cumina, but it is all right to attend without invitation unless one is distinctly persona non grata with the family, living or dead. The acceptable behavior for a stranger would be to inform the family that he wishes to attend.

After entering the yard, one proceeds to the house of the deceased,

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1 See Appendix B.

2 See Appendix A for details of feeding this god.

where, on a table inside the door, there is a small dish of loose salt. Each person is expected to place a piece of silver in the salt; it may often be a sixpence or a shilling; it may sometimes be two or three shillings; a very poor individual might place only a silver threepence in the dish.

From this point on, all the ceremonial drinks and food are free. These include the ceremonial goat which is killed in the morning and eaten, and the ceremonial drink during the evening. A drummer, or a dancing zombie, may consume rum for ceremonial purposes during the night, and this is supplied by the family.

Concession operators. An essential part of a Cumina are the operators who run the games, and the food and drink concessions. They pay the family for this privilege. As was mentioned, many of the ancestral zombies enjoy the games as much as dancing in the center ring; therefore, this pastime has ceremonial significance. There is a flat charge for a gaming table which may be as low as 2 shillings and as high as 30 shillings, depending upon the size of the Cumina, and the intended size of the game. Depending again on the circumstances, a cake or pastry seller may pay from 1 to 16 shillings. All this is handled by the family head, assisted by the master of ceremonies.

The obeah man and the family head. The duties and function of the obeah man have been described earlier in this chapter. Of all the officers, the obeah man most nearly approaches the function of a priest.

The family head, appointed for the occasion, is always a man agreed upon by the members of the family to act in this capacity.

These, then, are the officers of Memorial and Memorial-Entombment dances, as well as Cuminas celebrating bethothals and births. Probably as high as seventy-five percent of all the larger dances are Memorial dances, sponsored by a family for one or more of its deceased members; these are the dances, sometimes called "black and white dance," which are always held in the evening and attended by large numbers of people, some of them traveling considerable distances to attend. Cuminas held to celebrate a betrothal or to greet a new child are smaller, family affairs; betrothals are often celebrated in the afternoon with the ceremonies continuing into the evening but rarely lasting all night, while the greeting ceremony for an infant takes place in the morning.

In addition to the four ceremonies mentioned above, there is a fifth type, known as "nine night," in which the ranks of officers are more informal; however, many of the same folk songs are sung, and a dancing ring is formed.

A sixth type is not a public ceremony, at all, but a private working in an obeah man's own yard, and covers a series of varying purposes and forms. He conducts these services with the aid of his personal staff.

The Memorial dance. During the preparations for a Memorial dance, the yard is closed while a dancing booth is constructed. The specific needs for the dance are procured, namely, a goat, white rum, and concessionaires. An obeah man is asked to set the dance, and the officers are appointed by the family. Invitations are sent out by word or letter to the proper number of people.

On the appointed date, the ceremony begins at seven in the evening and continues throughout the night until past high noon of the following day. There are three major divisions into which a Cumina ceremony falls. The first part consists of the setting of the dance, and the welcoming of the guests and the ancestors to the dance. During this period, all of the friends and relatives dance in the ring if they care to, or play games; this part may continue until after midnight. The second division is for the purpose of greeting the high sky gods and strong zombies, and takes place between three and four in the morning. At this time, the dancing ring is broken, and the drummers and singers hail the gods.[1] The games are cleared, and many people leave the yard; those who remain remove themselves from the dancing booth and sit around the yard; some may sleep during this period in nearby houses or on the ground.

Between four and five o'clock in the morning, to the accompaniment of bilah songs, preparation is made for the procession of the Queen and her attendants. This procession marks the beginning of the third period. Following the procession, the sacrificial goat is presented and sacrificed. The goat's blood is then mixed with rum and fed to the memorialized ancestors. In the ensuing period, while members of the family are preparing the goat for the feast to follow, the dance continues around the graves of the ancestors. The ancestral zombies predominate in possessions at this point.

The ceremony concludes with the feast which is ready by the middle of the afternoon. Again, all the ancestors are fed, then the family

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1 No dancing was ever observed between 3 P.M. and 4 P.M.

and friends. The whole company relaxes and often, as the sun goes down, engages in the singing of Sankey hymns.

The purpose of a Memorial dance is to put at rest the spirit (kanuba) of the departed zombie, and to make certain that he, and all the ancestors are satisfied. Deceased ancestors who are not accorded Memorials are believed to become wandering spirits (duppies) and a menace, not only to the family but to all the people in the area. Hence, the preoccupation of all the people is to make every ceremony acceptable as an insurance against the future.

The satisfaction of the ancestral spirits is so important that if a deceased ancestor should have been interested in other cult groups, such as Revival or Flenkee, the spirits from these cults also may come to Cumina and possess Revival or Flenkee members in attendance. A Flenkee spirit possession was described above.[1] At that same ceremony there were also members of a Revival band in attendance. The following observations help to explain the interrelation of these Christian sects with Cumina:

> Although most of the Revival members present were not dancing, the Revival Mother was dancing in the ring. She was possessed and danced for the first time to an african zombie. The other members of Revival stayed all evening, entered into the ring during the walking dances, but were not under possession at any time.
>
> This throws some light on the statement made by several informants that Revival spirits respect and enjoy Cumina, know the gods of the africans, but do not dance; and that Cumina followers come to Revival, love the Holy Spirit, but do not dance. There is much individual variation; the Mother

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1 See this Chapter, p.161.

of the Cumina at this ceremony indicated that she also trumps and labors when she attends Revival services.

In contrast to the Revival members, the Convince Flenkee cult members, who were present in some numbers at this Cumina, did dance in the ring. Early in the morning, a woman of this cult went to the ancestor's grave and was possessed by a Flenkee spirit. Her stiffened body was brought back into the ring by the Mother of the Cumina, and one of the dancing zombies danced the spirit out of her. There was no resentment at these happenings. Gods and spirits, it is believed, are all friendly to one another; it is understandable that families, with an ancestor who had gone to Revival and Flenkee services and been touched by the Holy Spirit, would be happy to have these spirits come to her Memorial dance.

The Entombment dance. In its general form, an Entombment dance proceeds in the same order as a Memorial dance, already described. Actually, it is a service which is added to a Memorial dance, the specific entombment ritual taking place over the grave of the deceased.

While the Queen and her assistants together with all the officers of Cumina, perform the Entombment dance, the goat is brought into the dancing booth on the shoulders of a male dancing zombie who wheels around the circle. In this manner, he presents the sacrificial animal to the ancestral zombies. At the end of the presentation, the goat is placed on the ground between the drums and "purified." The rites of purification consist of drumming sky and earthbound gods through the body of the goat. This is unlike a Memorial dance in which the goat dances on the ground and the spirits are considered to enter his body while he dances.

A variation regarding the Queen and her attendants has also been observed in regard to a Memorial dance where an Entombment takes place. Sometimes, the order is changed and the procession of the Queen and

attendants takes place shortly after midnight instead of four in the morning.

At sunrise, the entire company proceeds to the graveyard, and the dancing continues over the graves. Drums are set up along side of the grave of the ancestor to be entombed. The goat is brought into the drum circle, his throat slit, and his blood drained into two water glasses. The blood is mixed with rum; one glass is placed on the grave of the to-be-entombed ancestor; the other is poured out on the graves of the other ancestors. The family head then cuts the throat of a chicken, drains the blood into a glass, and this is fed to other ancestors who could not eat goat blood. Rum is sprayed from the mouth by the master of ceremonies or the obeah man on each of the graves; this is to feed the spirits who may be present.

The real meaning of an Entombment is best described in the words of an <u>african</u> drummer:

> That mean that we give the spirit a house to live in, where water cannot soak in. That we make a 'tombment. We make a dance, and the man in charge and all of us take out a certain amount of dirt off their grave. We start to build their tomb on that dirt that is dug; sometimes six inches, sometimes five inches, sometimes four inches. We mix concrete, sand, and gravel. That seals it off. This is done because to make the spirit satisfied. It's a comfortable house to live in for a spirit. It is a shelter over his duppy spirit. He is more at peace, don't disturb the body, no one disturb him. Obeah man can't take him up, can't call him.

The actual entombment, which is the pouring of a concrete slab over the grave, comes in the morning. Throughout this mixing and pouring process, the drumming and dancing continue.

Cumina at the greeting of a new child. There is a great deal of variation in the ceremonial greeting of a child after his first nine days. An african cult family, generally, will set up a feast and sacrifice chickens for the occasion.

The infant is brought out and placed between the drums which are set in the usual way for a Cumina; that is, a circle is drawn first, the key, a black and white cloth, is placed in the center, and the drums are placed facing each other.[1] The child is anointed with coconut oil, making sure to "anoint the joints" so that he will "never get sick." Infant and drums are sprayed with rum, and then all those in attendance--family, friends, and strangers--present gifts to the child or mother; these may be silver, placed on the body of the child, or they may be gifts of food or other articles.

The mother is especially likely to receive gifts if she has had twins, for "if the mother got twins, they are very luck and very strong. The zombies love them. They got a clear channel high in the heavens. Two spirits are stronger than one." Because of this belief about the super power of twin babies, the ceremonial procedure is changed, and the drums are set up on the graves of the ancestors. When the children are brought from the house, they are laid on the graves and offered "as a sacrifice" to all the ancestors, in this way insuring the family of the additional protection needed for these dual spirits.

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1 It is said that Christian people do not have drums unless the father of the family should prefer to have an african drum player, in which case "you can still be a Christian. . . and like to hear the african drums play."

As for the Christian christening, which always takes place, it may be done before or after this dance; it may happen between nine days and a month. It is then that a name is given to the child; but "he got a name before. He got a name for the day, but that name not used."[1]

The attendance at this type of a dance is more or less limited to members of the family and their immediate neighbors and close friends. It was agreed by all of the african dancing zombies consulted that ancestral zombies come in great numbers to these occasions, but that possessions were extremely rare; rather, the ancestral spirits stand around and "line the yard." The emphasis at such a ceremony is on the immediate family, living or dead.

Cumina at a betrothal. The betrothal is a solemnization and a recognition of a common-law marriage between members of african Cumina cult. On the appointed day, the families and relatives assemble in the yard of the girl's family, and when the prospective husband appears, the girl is presented to him and festivities begin.

Two drums are set up in the booth, the gods are invoked, and the ancestral zombies are called down to this celebration. Banana leaves are spread out, and food is placed on the leaves for the ancestors and gods at the same time as it is eaten by the relatives and friends in attendance.

A dancing ring is formed and african dancing begins. The bride and groom dance together. Possessions may follow, but at many ceremonies it is reported that the ancestral zombies attend but to not

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1 Ashanti Day Names are used by many africans as well as by the Maroons.

dance. Towards the end of the evening, the bride and groom leave the party to go to their new home.

The purpose of this ceremony is to greet the ancestors and the living relatives of both families so that the new couple may have the full support of the entire family, living and dead. As a young man explained, "They got to dance myal; they got to dance ring dance; they got to dance bilah. After all this, everything is successful, and you take your girl home to your house."

It is evident that a betrothal dance is held by all the members of african Cumina who can afford it. It eases the cost if there are drummers in the families; but if there are not, and the families cannot afford them, there is the alternative of having a "ring play." In this, a dancing ring is formed and bilah songs are sung. In any case, a dinner is prepared and the living and dead are greeted.

"The nine-night." The "nine-night" watch, following a death in the family, is common to many groups in Jamaica. With Christian sects, relatives and friends gather in the yard each evening for nine nights to bring gifts of food and money to the family, to partake of refreshments, and to sing Sankey hymns. Their purpose during this period is to keep company with the family, and to show the departed spirit honor and affection so that he may not be disappointed nor lonely.

In the case of african Cumina groups, Sankey hymns are often used at the conclusion of a "nine-night" watch; but during the nine nights, friends and relatives gather together in the yard with the family to play games and conduct a ring play. Dancing is alternately african ring dancing and set dancing reminiscent of square dances and quadrilles.

A follower of Cumina explains "ring play" in the following manner:

> When you get a dead, sir, we play ring play. It is different from <u>african</u> dance, and we don't play (drums) none at the time of ring play. Most of the songs we sing at ring play, we don't use very much in <u>african</u> dance because it's a different kind of singing. We sing songs like "Old Mother Mollie-o," "The Wheel Go Round 'n' Round," "The Ladies Stop and the Gentlemen Go," "Cockroach Ants a Bite Me In The Ass Hole." They are a lot of fun. We never sing Jamaica country songs. We can sing <u>bilah</u> at ring play; we can play to those, or we can dance to those, but not Jamaican country songs.

It would help to understand the ceremony of ring play by describing one held for a man who was reported to have been a victim of obeah. This man was a patient in a mental hospital when he died. Under these circumstances, he is denied some of the <u>african</u> rites.

In such a case, the procedure was to hold a ring play for eight nights, followed by Sankey hymns on the ninth. Because he had "lost his mind," he did not require a Cumina, for it was believed that his duppy would be in the same condition and unable to take proper direction. However, it was necessary to give him a "nine-night" watch so that whatever peace he might find, he could have.

The following observations were made on the first night of this man's "nine-night" watch:

> A canvas protection was stretched above the yard because the rainy season was approaching and it was important that nothing occurred to stop this ring play. At 9 P.M. the play had been in progress for two hours, but most of the people were not participating.
>
> Sixteen men and women of various ages were trying self-consciously to carry on the ring play. It was evident that they felt it was their duty to engage in it but there was no one to direct activities, as is customary at ring play.

> After the arrival of two experienced zombie drummers, who took over the direction of the ring, there was a change in the spirit of the party. One of the drummers moved into the center of the ring and called for the song, "Old Massa," or "Old Cockroach." With this man in the center, singing the verses, the people took up the chorus and began to walk around the circle counter-clockwise. "Old Massa" is a humorous number about an ant who crawls to various parts of the human anatomy and bites at each spot. The verse calls the location; the leader scratches himself in that location; the rest of the people are required to repeat the leader's motions as they sing the chorus. This resulted in a good deal of hilarity and overcame the self-consciousness of the group.
>
> From this point on, other songs and set dance numbers followed in rapid succession, and the effect was that of a highly successful social party. The high spirits of the crowd established the effectiveness of the ring play, and it was felt that the departed spirit must have been satisfied.

Ring play in "nine-night" ceremonial has the serious purpose of comforting and entertaining the spirit of the person who has just died. This reassures the family of the departed that his spirit will be satisfied, and at the same time, it serves to lift the spirits of the bereaved. The games, the hilarity, and the funny songs are, therefore, ceremonial in nature.

It should be recalled here that the first Memorial dance for a deceased person may be held on the ninth night. At the present time, this happens infrequently because most families need more time to meet the expense of a Cumina.

The private working. The remaining types of african Cumina are private ceremonies for special problems. These are under the direction of an obeah man, sometimes called a "scientist," who is trained in the knowledge of spirit control.

In most private workings, two drums are set up, and the zombies

invoked in the manner described in other settings of the drums. Incense, oil, water, dead men's bones, herbs, chicken feathers, blood, and egg shells are some of the ingredients used in these ceremonies.

Preceding a healing ceremony, an obeah man is consulted in his capacity to divine the source of the illness. If his diagnosis is a "spirit sickness," the regular setting up of a private working for healing ensues.

The following comments of members of the <u>african</u> group illustrate their understanding of "spirit sickness":

> <u>African</u> rule find out if he is spirit sick and work upon him with herbs; if he is not spirit sick, we can look upon him and tell. If he spirit sick, we the <u>african</u>, know when the spirit come and he is not our spirit. He carry a different breeze. When good spirit come, he carry a good breeze; but when sick spirit comes, evil spirit bring a high breeze. You can tell by looking at the person.
>
> Probably, when you sick, say a month or two, and can't get better, and when you may have a dead, he come and dream you; say such-and-such a place trouble you. Then you must look after it. You have to go to somebody if you don't understand to take it off, yourself. Certain kinds of preachers, or obeah men, you go to. They get to take it off. Some go to the drugstore and get some drugs, and after they get the drugs they come home and boil bath and bathe you; and after they bathe you, they bury the water. Incense from the doctor's shop is one of the strongest treatment on the ghost that they can get. It goes running away when they use it.
>
> You use <u>african</u> dance when you get a sick better. They call the spirit from the ground. <u>African</u> spirit come, we kill a goat, we get the blood, we mix it with rum, and we wipe it from you head straight down to your feet and during the while we have you in the ring. Meantime, the drums knock you and hackle you, and probably by daylight, you come back a strong man. The spirit have to leave you because they are among <u>african</u> spirits that made their dance. They must; they can't manage it, then, they leave you.
>
> We take the man from the house; we carry him along with the side of the drum. He is laid in the circle between the drums, and

> with our playing we (the zombies) walk on in. (This means that the <u>african</u> gods and ancestral zombies enter the body of the patient in rapid succession.) A watch (is set) in front of the gate until doctor (obeah man) is through. With the drums playing, with rum and blood, people dance around the circle, light candles. The zombies come down and clear it. The colors we use for this dance are black and white.
>
> We generally use Cumina dancing for spirit sickness, but when we have any sickness around the body, we want to go to the doctor.

Other private workings are for the purpose of "putting on or taking off evil." These rites, generally for the purpose of investing charms and amulets with magical powers, are begun in the obeah man's yard although they may ultimately be used in the yard of another person. Most potions or charms have a specific objective; once this objective is accomplished, they lose their power.

At a private working, after the invocation of the drums, rum is blown to the "four watchmen of the four corners of the earth"; specific sky gods, earthbound gods, ancestral zombies, and even duppies are called into the circle between the drums, instructed and fed.[1] The object to be invested with magic power is placed in the center of the circle and rum is poured over it and lighted. Again the sky gods or other spirits are invoked and instructed, which is the point at which the object becomes the bearer of spirit power.

Another type of special working is called "cutting and clearing" where no charm is used, but where a zombie or a duppy is charged with a specific task. The task usually has the aim of taking or saving an individual's life. When a duppy, or ancestral zombie, is used in this kind of undertaking, his skull, teeth, hair, or fingernails together

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1 The "four watchmen" are the sky gods who guard the four corners of the earth. They are similar to the function of the four evangelists in Revival.

with his grave dirt are employed in the controls.

Divination is another type of private working, an important aspect of an obeah man's job. The power key for this ceremony is a crooked stick and a glass of water placed in the center of the circle between the drums. Answers to questions may come from the fall of the stick after it is twirled by the obeah man, from spirit transmission through the water, or through visions incurred during the ceremony.

Possession, myal, and spirit life. Myal is a term to denote possession of individuals by spirits, but not all possessions can be spoken of as myal. Possession can also be used as a term to denote a similar process where the spirits are either duppies or sky or earth-bound gods who are difficult to identify because they do not dance. Possession by one of these spirits is not known to come at a Cumina dance. Rather, they come either at the whim of the spirit or directed by an obeah man.

Duppies become the tools of an obeah man for good or evil purposes. Eidon, baby duppies who died before christening, are even more dangerous for they can never be identified and have no human knowledge.

In addition to the above spirits, there is an awareness among the africans of a devil and his assistants, and of small people who live in the woods. These spirits are all believed to be evil and destructive.

Myal possession is linked to the public and private ceremonies of the Cumina group. No instance of myal occurring outside of these ceremonies was recorded. After the gods have been invoked by the drums, the spirits are attracted to the ceremonial and come down close to the

dancing booth, but it is believed that they do not enter it immediately.

When the spirits are willing, they are described as coming into the booth to the center pole, then down the pole into the ground; from the ground they go into the open end of the drum, to the head of the drum, and are there hailed by the drummer, the master of ceremonies, and the singer. They then travel out the other end of the drum, into the ground, and into the feet of the person selected to be possessed. At this point, informants report that the feet become heavy, feel as if they are stuck to the earth; some say it feels like an electric shock. From the feet, the spirit creeps up the legs to the hips while the spirit's own drum beats and song are executed by the drummer and the singer. The selected individual trembles as the spirit rises and the feeling is described as that of a snake crawling up the legs. Next, the spirit lodges in the spine, and then climbs up to the shoulder where he may ride for some time, feeling heavy to the individual about to be possessed; with varying individuals this is accompanied by a feeling of lightness in the head, or a small pain, or faintness.

When the spirit "feels like it" he mounts into the head of the individual.[1] At this point, the individual loses consciousness; sometimes, he falls to the ground; sometimes he goes into a spin, or leaps through the air. It should be noted that myal possession, at its inception, is one of complete mastery of the individual which is

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1 Some ancestral zombies walk into the booth, as they would have in life, and immediately mount the shoulders and go into the head of the person being possessed.

not always accepted willingly. When this first phase is completed, the individual has given his body to the spirit and he becomes the physical personification of that particular god or ancestral zombie. In this early phase, great care is given to the individual by the master of ceremonies and his assistants, for, with some spirits, the man or woman must be subdued until the dance can be controlled. In this phase, all individuals claim they have no knowledge of what is happening.

A second phase of myal is the dance of the god or spirit which becomes a controlled dance and is identifiable by the master of ceremonies, the drummers, and all the assistants. The possessed individual is spoken of now as a zombie, is identified as a named god or ancestral spirit, and is danced with in the manner of that spirit. Sometimes, in the progress of this myal dance, there comes a partial consciousness when the individual begins to know himself again, and the spirit possessing him becomes less and less pronounced.

There is evidence that after the period of complete dominance, the spirit comes outside the individual, dancing just outside his body. This, also, can be established as the second period of myal, for many of the dances of these spirits force the possessed individual to appear to be dancing with someone. Moreover, the assistants handle the possessed individual by dancing as the possessing spirit would dance if he were outside the body. Towards the end of the second phase, the possessed individual dances without assistance, continuing to appear as if he were dancing with someone. It is this type of dance which is responsible for the feeling of many persons

that, after the gods have control, they dance outside the body.

Methods used to release a possessed individual from his spirit would seem to indicate, however, that as the spirit leaves the individual, he must first re-enter the body, returning through the ground and up the center pole to the sky or the surrounding area.

The duration of a myal possession varies. Some possessions last as short a time as five minutes; generally, they will continue as long as thirty minutes, and some may go on for one or two hours. It is interesting to note that after an individual is released from the spirit, he usually appears relaxed and refreshed by the experience, although the activity of the dance may have been very strenuous. As has been mentioned, it is not uncommon for an individual to dance to two or three spirits during a Cumina. Obeah men greet vast numbers of spirits who enter their bodies temporarily, but do not dance with them.

Possession outside myal is an extremely variable situation. Insanity is generally considered a state of possession; certain types of illness also fall in this class. Bad luck is often explained as a partial possession of an individual due to some private working directed against him. Generally speaking, when one of the spirits outside myal attack an individual or a family, it is necessary to go to an expert in "science," an obeah man. His knowledge of vast numbers of spirits, his materials and skills, are called upon to help control whatever type of spirit has affected the well-being of an individual or family. Potions and charms are used to guard against possession by one of these unwanted spirits; guards are placed at the

gate of one's yard for this purpose; doors and windows are kept closed at night to prevent the entrance of evil spirits.

Ranks of spirits. There are three ranks of spirits which come to Cumina and "dance myal." Singled out by the ways they are fed, their drumbeats and dance, they are recognizable to all the male and female zombies of the cult. Referred to broadly as zombies, they are sky gods, earthbound gods, and ancestral zombies.

The sky gods are the highest ranking deities and are looked upon as strong powers. Some of them possess living dancing zombies at a Cumina, but many of them "come around but they do not dance." The actual number of sky gods is not known, but thirty-seven of them are described in this study.[1] Their names are as follows:

Oto	Obei
Jubee	Famous (Kish)
Bebee	Kakeei
Belgium	Doopee
Judee	Balaam
Aitai	Teesha
Batoon	Balow
Twees	Faha
Abell	Kha
Fali (False)	Meeso
Fee	Beeal
Abrack	Abat
Tatoom	Abro
Adabrack (Adabat)	Abeegil
Sahtoon	Banto
Flash	Twiss
Sango	Goomba
Saha	Mandoonbay
Atchak	Faylah
Chute	

1 See Appendix A.

The next rank of spirits are called earthbound gods and many of them are also strong powers. The difference in rank is in the concept of spirits who are bound to the earth and unable to leave it. Many of them dance in myal possession; many of them are also used in private workings by the obeah man. Sixty-two of them are described in this study.[1] Their names are as follows:

Macoo (Shadrak)	Appie (Meshak)
Biko (Abendigo)	Babee
Singquess (Buta)	Leyah
Matee	Ajax
Tatano	Amesa (Anneah)
Bluca	Beliis
Odek	Jerome
Fata	Seeco
Tromendos	Beleese
Kachee	Cynthia (Pine)
Dapa	Brownie
Batch	Chickee
Fitt	Keel
Mendoo	Atlas
Alec	David
James	Ivan
Labon	Leah
Augustus	Ezekiel
King Makoo	Davis
Percy	Mabell
Daratee	Fanceeko
Archie	Zache
Uriah	Moses
Teena	Jimmy
Cain	Beetal
Sincabo	Gerald
Melia	Wilmott
Benjamin	Darcos
Felix	Tampo
Fasta	Obe
Irvine	Batel

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1 See Appendix A.

The third group of spirits are ancestral zombies. These are deceased members of families living in the area. All of the ancestral zombies come to dance at Cuminas; the greatest number of myal possessions at a dance are by the ancestral zombies. Some of them, like Manuka Vola (mentioned earlier), become exceedingly powerful and are considered as strong as earthbound gods. Some of these are described in this study.[1]

The ancestral zombies are the spirits of men and women, who, in their lifetime, were dancing zombies, drummers, obeah men--all those who danced in possession. They are at the service of their own families and friends, and are used by obeah men to guard individuals against evil spirits. As in life, they had personal strengths and potentialities, so in death, they have distinctive capacities. Some of them have learned to be powerful spirits, especially the ancestral heads of extended families, and are considered to surpass even earthbound gods. Their dance is known, and they come to prescribed songs and drumbeats as do the sky and earthbound gods. Some of the most popular ancestral zombies in the Morant Bay area are as follows:

Jimmy Snate	Wilmont Bailey
Sophie Bartly	William Scott
Manuka Vola	Walter Bailey
William Bailey	Grace Bailey
Tisha Bailey	Benjamin Snate
James Grassett	Stanley Espute
Queeny Espute	Obi Beckford
Margaret Miller	Maria Miller
Amilia Miller	Jimmy Grassett
Linden Gorden	Jesse Miller
Archie Pierce	

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1 See Appendix A.

Dance and music in african Cumina. Dancing is so identified with this cult that the commonly applied label by people in the area is "african dance." At the public dances, the spirits who are called cannot manifest themselves except through their dance in possession. Even in private workings, the obeah man must have drums and songs, and as he invokes the gods his bodily motions reflect their dance forms as they make their presence known to him.

The importance of dancing is generally reported by students of Negro culture in the New World.[1] The emphasis on dancing as a necessary part of ceremonial activity is clearly presented in Jamaica where hundreds of people attend these cult gatherings. Many of those who attend and dance are not members of the cult and are not possessed. When possessions begin to take place in great numbers, these people stop dancing and stand around the dancing booth. Even young children enjoy dancing in the early stages of a dance.

In private workings, dancing is restricted to the obeah man, himself, for the "work" is often done inside a room. As gods come down into the drums, he dances between and over, but not around, them. It is important to note that he always dances, and there is good reason to believe that whenever drums are used, someone dances to the beats.

There are several kinds of dancing which can be distinguished at an african Cumina. The basic african dance, participated in by everyone in the ring, is a walking step in time with the beat of the banda.

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1 Herskovits, 1947, p. 316; Kerr, 1952, p. 129.

The body is held erect, but responds to the counterbeats and polyrhythms of the playing drum, the shaker, and the scraper. Because of the counter rhythms, the hips, shoulders, arms, and head are presented with infinite opportunities for variation in posture and movement. Dancing is always counter-clockwise around the ring, and can be done alone, or with a partner. The appearance of this ring dancing is not dissimilar to responses seen in dancing to North American hot jazz and South American rhythms.

In spite of a great deal of freedom of interpretation in the movements of this ring dancing, the behavior of the group is orderly. There is a good reason for this friendly and considerate spirit as a group. The vast majority of these dances are Memorial or Entombment ceremonies, conducted by a family for its own dead. Even those in attendance who are not dancing zombies and, therefore, limit themselves to the social aspect of the dance, respect the purpose of the ceremony and conduct themselves accordingly.

Dancing forms used by zombies under myal possession or by attendants and officers of a Cumina, are varied in pattern. Sky and earthbound gods differ widely in the pattern and style of their dance. Ancestral zombies each have distinctive dance styles more closely related to the basic african dance. The essential difference in myal dance is that the attention of the dancer is given over completely to the spirit possessing him, and he is not conscious of the people about him.

It will be recalled that dancing under myal possession has three phases: the opening phase, when the person receives the god, at which time the individual may fall to the ground, or stand rooted to the ground;

a second phase, when the dance patterns exhibit strenuous behavior and the dancers must be attended constantly; and the third phase, when the dancer dances alone, in a patterned manner which is identifiable as a specific god or ancestral zombie. The dances of the gods and zombies vary, but there are a number who, in the opening phase, can be classified in one of several groups. These will be enumerated as seven major types in the following paragraphs.

(1) In this group, the god or zombie rides the head or shoulders of the dancing zombie throughout the dance. The dancer remains erect, postures, holds his arms up, shakes hands as he greets people. While he is under possession and unaware of what is going on around him, he does not appear to have lost consciousness at any time.

(2) The god or zombie hits hard, but the dancer staggers and does not fall. In this group, the dancer goes into a spinning dance which includes wide circles around the ring. If unattended, the indications are that he would hurl himself out of the dancing booth. Even the second phase brings the dancer to the very edge of the booth. The last phase is more controlled, the circles becoming less and less pronounced, until the possession is over.

(3) The god or zombie hits the dancer to the ground, then tries to take him from the dancing booth. In this group, the possessed person will hit the ground, then spring up immediately, and attempt to hurl his way through the dancers in the ring, and out of the booth. Sometimes, he reaches the edge, or gets out of the booth, but attending zombies are alert and usually reach him before he is hurt. In some instances, there is no second phase because the attendants begin,

at once, to release the dancer.

(4) The god or zombie hits the dancer down to the ground on his back. The possessed person falls on his back, and his body wiggles with muscle movements, almost snake-like, which carry him along the ground towards the outside of the dancing booth. This movement is rapid, carrying him two or three feet a second. The second and third phases of this dance are usually erect, and often quite sedate.

(5) The god or zombie hits the dancer down between the drums. Suddenly, the dancer springs up and dashes for the nearest tree or post. Individual gods or zombies climb differently; one goes up a tree feet first, others, head first. There is usually no second or third phase in this dance because the attendants begin, at once, to release the dancer.

(6) The god or zombie hits the dancer down to the ground. The dancer immediately makes what can be likened to a wrestler's bridge, supporting his body with the back of his head, while his stiffened hands and feet hold the rest of his body off the ground. In this posture, the dancer moves backwards around the circle. This is usually a one-phase dance, but there are exceptions where the second and third phases proceed in an erect position.

(7) The god or zombie hits the dancer down to the ground, but the dancer immediately gets up and crawls on his hands and feet. This he does in a crouched position, moving sidewise like a crab. This, too, is a one-phase dance.

These, then, are seven major groupings of <u>myal</u> possession dance. There are many variations, as will be seen in the description of

dancing patterns of individual gods and zombies.[1] These seven are significant in that they occur frequently, and help to classify and identify the gods or zombies present at a given dance. It must be remembered, too, that these seven classes of behavior are often the first phase of what may be any of a group of gods or zombies who begin their dances in such fashion. The distinct variations of each god or zombie will come in phases two and three.

The sky and earthbound gods, and the ancestral zombies described in this study are, undoubtedly, a partial list; they are the better known ones in the Morant Bay area. It is interesting to note that ancestral zombies do not usually dance outside the neighborhoods or regions where, in life, they danced. Neither do they appear to possess persons who did not know them, or who have not seen them dance as ancestral zombies many times.

There is no question that the dances are religious in character. Sex offenses are not observed at ceremonials; to perform a sexual act during a Cumina, is to show disrespect towards the ancestral zombies and one's own family. What appears to an outsider as movements suggestive of sexual acts, are performed by old men and women, young people, and even children without any of the implications the North American would ascribe to them. Because the cultural attitude of these people toward sex is not furtive, therefore, their bodily motions, regardless of their specific character, are meant to be regarded without underlying implications and are accepted as part of the variety of dance movement.

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1 See Appendix A.

Still another type of dancing within the _african_ Cumina group, is that which occurs during ring play in "nine-night" ceremonies. A ring is formed and ring songs and games are played interspersed with dances. The dances are the type of set dances, or quadrilles and reels, as described by Jekyll, and later by Beckwith.[1]

Music, too, is indispensable to an _african_ Cumina ceremony. The most important instrument, as has been indicated throughout this chapter, is the drum. There are two kinds, the _banda_ and the playing drum. The _banda_ is a large hollow log drum with a goat skin for the head; the playing drum is smaller, but otherwise made the same.[2] The other instruments are the shaker, made from a gourd set on a stick; the scraper, a corrugated stick across which is rubbed a plain stick; and a clapper, or _catatic_, which is a flat stick beat against the center post of the dancing booth. Occasionally, a metal blade, called a _trapasa_, is used to augment the orchestra.

The goat skin used for the drum heads is taken off a goat killed in a ceremony. After the hide is treated, it is stretched across the end of a hollow log and fastened down with a stout branch which is nailed in all around the log. This fastening becomes the tuning device, for by pounding the nails into the log, the skin is tightened. Before this tightening process, rum is sprayed from the mouth on the drum head; rum-spraying is repeated frequently throughout the life of the instrument.

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1 Beckwith, 1929, p. 213; Jekyll, 1907, Chapter 2.

2 Three drums, one playing drum and two _bandas_, played together are referred to as _gomba_.

All drums are played with the fingers and hand, with the drummers sitting astride the side of the drum while playing. The tone of the banda is modulated by touching the right heel against the head with varying pressure and placement. The playing drum is smaller and has a higher tone. Tone variation is achieved by hitting the head with fingers together, or separately, and by a change in placement. Rim beats are made with the fingers held still and struck on the place where skin and log are joined.

The basic beat of the banda is 4/4 time, with accentuated first and third beats. This beat is never changed throughout a Cumina, except for speeding the tempo somewhat as the dancing becomes more intense. The playing drum carries the polyrhythms against the beat of the banda, shaker, and scraper. The clapper also plays against the beat of the banda.

In addition to these instruments, there is the human voice. The songs used at a ceremony are significant because the gods and ancestral zombies are called by a combination of drumbeats and songs.

There are three types of songs used by the african group. They are folk songs sung at ring play, which are mainly in Jamaican dialect; bilah folk songs, sung at Cumina for calling down ancestral zombies, and sky and earthbound gods; and Jamaican country (myal) songs whose use is restricted for possessions at Cumina. It should be emphasized that bilah songs are in a dialect which is primarily English, but Jamaican country songs are in a language referred to, in this area, as african. The following song, "Tange Lange Jenny," is an example of a Jamaican country song:

Tangɛ Langɛ Jɛni

(Verse 1)

Tangɛ langɛ Jɛni di gəl ɛvə
Di lɔ cumɔrti pangɛ le
Gəl Im wɔto pangɛ mama le
Di le kuwidi pangɛ le

(Verse 2)

Tangɛ langɛ Jɛni di gəl ɛvə
Wangɛ langɛ mama o
Di le kuwidi pangɛ le
So-so langɛ widi ɔ gəl
So-so langɛ mama o
Owɔt kuɸelə zɔmbi di gəl ɔlɔk
O widi pangɛ le
Gəl ɔmɔt widi pangɛ le
Di le konakunda pangɛ langɛ e
Di lɔ wɔtɔ widɪngga le
Mɔnukɔ di lɔ kuwɪdi pangɛ le

(Verse 3)

Tangɛ langɛ Jɛni di gəl ɛvə
Kangɛ langɛ mama o Jɛni langɛ mama o
Di gəl ha a so-so langɛ mama o
Gəlləgɔ di lɔ kuwidi pɛngɛ lɔ
Gəl o so-so langɛ mama o
Wɔtto wipi gəlle ɛvə tangɛ langɛ mama
Di lɔ gəl lɔ kuwidi pɔngɔ le
Di lɔ gəl lɔ kowatɛ langɛ mama
Jɛni langɛ Jɛni di gəl ɛvə tangɛ
Langɛ mama so-so
Modungo, gə, madɛɪngɔ, tangɛ langɛ
Mama di lɔ kum madi pangɛl
B'a Jɛni B'a kangɛ langɛ mama o.

(Verse 4)

Tangɛ langɛ Jɛni di gəl ɛvə
Di lɔ kuwidi pɔngɛ le
Gəl a so-so madunga ya B'a
Lɔswiti kangɛ langɛ mama o
Di lɔ kuwpi pɔngɔl mɔ
Jɛni di gəl a kumama o
Di lɔkuwidi pangɛl mɔJɛni
Di gəl a kuovɔ kangɛ langɛ mama o
Kangɛ langɛ miedi mɔnuka vola
Tangɛ langɛ mama o o so-so
Wɔtɔn gəl e B'i Jɛni di lɔ
Kumɔdi pangɛ le
Tangɛ langɛ miedi mɔnuka
Gəl a so-so mɔdɪngo ya
Mɔnuka a kɔngɛ langɛ mama o.

Tange Lange Jenny

(Translation)

Dancing, erect, tall Jenny,
The girl ever of the calling spirits
Who greet her;
The girl he is waiting to greet,
Dead mama,
All the dead call to greet her.

Dancing erect, tall Jenny,
Ever walking tall and erect,
Dead mama,
The person all the dead call to greet
Like clean water of the dead, this girl,
Clean, clear water, dead mama.
Oh what a day of the gods
When this girl is greeted by the dead
Who love her,
This girl loved by the dead
Who all greet her.
They who all come, erect,
Greeting her,
Who would like to carry her away with them,
Even Manuka of the calling spirits
Comes to greet her.

Dancing, erect, tall Jenny,
Ever dancing so erect and tall,
Dead mama,
Jenny, mama, the erect tall girl.
Ah, the clean, erect tall girl,
Dead mama.
The girl of the Gaws
Whom all the calling dead spirits come to greet.
The girl like clean clear water,
Dead mama,
Hailed by the watching dead.
The girl who ever dances,
So erect and tall,
Dead mama,
This wonderful, all-spirits-attracting girl,
Whom they greet.
All watching this girl of the spirits,
This erect, tall girl,
Dead mama,
Jenny, erect, tall Jenny,
The girl who always dances so erect and tall,
Dead mama,

So clean and clear.
The ancestral spirits who come
From the Mondungo, Gaw, Madinga nations,
Dancing erect and tall,
Dead mama,
Greet big Jenny, the great, erect, tall dancer,
Dead mama.

Dancing erect, tall Jenny,
The girl who is ever greeted
By all the calling spirits,
This Madonga girl, so big and clean,
Who dances so sweetly, erect and tall,
Dead mama,
Greetings to my Jenny are coming
From all the calling dead spirits,
Even you now, dead mama,
Are calling my Jenny,
Joining with all the great calling spirits,
This girl who dances so erect and tall,
Dead mama,
The dancing, great, tall, calling
Ancestral spirit, Manuka Vola,
Is dancing erect and tall,
Dead mama,
With this clean, beloved girl.
Big Jenny, the beloved,
Of even the greatest calling spirits
Who greet her as she dances, erect and tall,
With the greatest of ancestral calling spirits, Manuka,
Receiving greetings from all the calling dead
Who greet her.

Country songs, like "Tange Lange Jenny," according to the african cult, speak to and call down the greatest of the african zombies. Between the african, Maroon, and Revival cult members, the same songs are loved and respected. They are reputed to be of ancient African origin by the people of these groups. There is a warmth of feeling and respect among these large cult groups which reflects itself in the regard they have for their ancestors. The music of the old country songs and the Sankey hymns are mutually respected by Negro people throughout the whole area.

There remains to be mentioned the relationship of these cult groups to the major, or conventional, Christian denominations. Almost every baby is baptized in one of these denominations. Many persons have been confirmed in the Church of England, some have been confirmed in the Roman Catholic Church. That they receive this ministration for protection, only, is not correct in that these people have a real respect for the Christian God and the Bible. It is not so much that they misunderstand organized Christianity, but that these churches, allied to the upper middle class, misunderstand them.

The depth of this interrelationship of ideas and beliefs can be illustrated as follows:

> According to my understanding, a Christian is just somebody who goes to church. I believe that I am better than these men, for a man that goes to church and doesn't serve Christ in the right way-- he couldn't be a Christian. He just goes to church to show his garments. The man that serves Christ at his home, serve in the true and right way; for it has been told that clean hands and a pure heart, they shall see God.

When I serve in the african religion, and am decent and respectful to the gods, I feel that that is what Christ would have me do. Give to the poor, and Jesus will give you some more.

I belong to the Roman Catholic Church. I do not go now. I cannot find the means to keep myself up to the ability to enter in a church (not owning a coat or shoes). The Roman Catholic priest can divine protection by giving you a blessed crucifix, or a divine picture, or a charm (medal). Some of the best guards against duppies are given out by the Roman Catholic priest.

It is the same god. Some men pray to african gods, some pray to Zion gods, some pray Christian. Well, I think God is a ruler; when the spirit leave out your body, that spirit gone back to God.

When people shout at Christian service, they get religion. They get in the spirit. I believe that whenever time you're in a Christian meeting, and get an action, that spirit from God come down and visit you. You don't dance; you jump like you want to jump up straight. He come by light when he's walking, right into the head, not into the ground. The african zombie come from the ground.

The reason I have no trouble, I serve the gods and whatever they have called for, whether in dreams or visions, I deliver it and keep to the mark, on principle.

I feel that the Church of England help the cruel government to hold us in ignorancy. They keep service in church, take up collection, but the minister is very busy. He do not have time to give us any clear understanding of the meanings of what the gospel will profit us and what we will gather from it. I feel that the Wesleyan Church is the same. They keep us in ignorancy. The Baptist Church, well, they baptize and we know that baptism ... that Jesus Christ was baptized in the River Jordan, and there was a blessing there. And the dove came down and was rested on the head of the Savior. I never go to the Roman Catholic Church, but I understand that the Roman Catholic priest, after the people turn Roman Catholic, give no explanations and no knowledge.

From these, and other statements, it would seem that while there is respect for the Christian God, there is very little respect for most of the major denominations, except for the power that is believed to be inherent in them. Some believe that Oto, the highest sky god, and the Christian God are the same. Others believe that the Christian God is an addition to african gods; many try to serve the Christian God and the african gods to the best of their ability.

AFRICAN CUMINA ALTARS

BELGUIM

KING MACOO

FAMOUS (KISH)

CHAPTER VI

SOME CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that African religious structure still dominates the thinking and practice of such groups as the african Cumina Negro group in Jamaica, even to the extent that most of the new developments in their religion have almost no European Christian tenets or structure. On the other hand, because religion is the most dynamic aspect of their culture, these people have developed an Afro-Jamaican religion of their own.

In the framework of the sky gods, earthbound gods and ancestral zombies, Cumina theology resembles in structure, religious aspects of West African and Congo culture. The names of the gods in Jamaica are different from most of those in various West African and Congo systems. Their duties meet modern needs, but their behavior and theological rationale are African, showing little evidence of Christian Western European influence. These Jamaican african gods have personalities, duties, regular feeding and dancing habits, and can be called upon and worked with, in terms of African understanding and order.

Ceremonial, use of animals and animal blood, possession, instrumentation, and music patterns are African. Many old gods are forgotten, or their names have been changed; new ones have taken their places; but the concept of the behavior of ancestors, is basically retained, and comparable to modern beliefs in West Africa and the Congo today.

In the Revival, Revival Zion, and Pocomania cults, there are evidences of borrowing and reinterpretation adjusted to serve the cultural needs of the people. Dual identification, such as those found in syncretistic processes in Trinidad and Cuba, are not as visible in these cults.[1] Saints cannot be easily identified with African gods, as has been done in these other areas. Instead, Christian hymns, saints, and theology have been borrowed and reinterpreted to take on basic African concepts, while retaining Western European names and languages.

Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the Holy Ghost and John the Baptist, all trump and labor, and possess the faithful in African fashion. Shepherds of Revival flocks work as obeah men; their invocations are directed to the Holy Spirit and the saints, in place of sky gods and earthbound gods called upon by the Cumina obeah men.[2] That they (the Shepherds) also work with the River Maid and river gods who are unnamed, and that in addition, deceased Revival members return to present day services, possess the faithful, and are identifiable by the type of dance and music they respond to, much like the ancestors of Cumina return and are identified, indicates how close one group is to another.

On the other hand, <u>african</u> Cumina cult groups have borrowed the Bible as a powerful charm against duppies, zombies and the Devil, to which they have also added crucifixes and medals blessed by the

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1 Herskovits, 1947, p. 331; Bascom, 1950, p. 64-68.

2 Beckwith, 1923, p. 32.

Roman Catholic priest. Psalms and hymns are used by the Revival cult to direct the work of apostles and saints for protection against duppies.

Is religion still the focus of Negroes in the Morant Bay area? This can best be answered by saying that responses to questions on family life inevitably lead into religious considerations. The same is true to questions on economics, land-owning, or politics. The testimony of the activity of Cumina groups, Maroons, Revival, Revival Zion, Flenkee, Pocomania, as well as the interest in Pentecostal Holiness, Salvation Army, and conventional denominations, indicates that religion is basic to Negro culture in this part of Jamaica. Gods, like Flash, Fasta, Erwin, Sincabo, Moses, Percy, and Augustus indicate how new needs bring on new inventions. The fact that Cudjo and other Maroon gods now come to <u>african</u> dances, and that a Maroon obeah man occasionally drums at <u>african</u> Cumina, explains, in part, the adaptability and fluid manner in which change is accepted in the religious aspect of this culture. It also indicates the extent of acculturation which has taken place among Negro groups in this area.

Questions that have been raised in this study, which demand further investigation, are the possibilities that the first language for many of these Negroes may not be English, as has been assumed, but a language they speak of as <u>african</u>. This might have been suspected for the Western Maroon people because of their isolated area, but not Negro people thirty miles from the city of Kingston living in or near one of the principal coastal towns. The fact that approximately 5,000 words were recorded during the field trips of this study indicates that this aspect of the culture of these people would present to the

ethnolinguist an excellent opportunity for testing linguistic acculturation processes among totally bilingual Negroes.[1]

Another question worthy of careful treatment is an analysis of the recordings of the methods of calling the sky and earthbound gods.[2] Each god is said by most drummers in this area, to have his or her own beat, and it is apparent that one god can be distinguished from another by a good drummer. Yet it is obvious from just a slight analysis of the music that this statement is not accurate. A more precise statement would seem to be that each god has a sequence of similar beats, together with either a bilah or country song. An analysis of this material might reveal a pattern of culture change discernable in the music that would make a valuable contribution to the total knowledge of the processes of acculturation of these people.

A study of personality and culture patterns should be rewarding in this part of Jamaica. For example, a fairly simple research project could be set up to study differences between people with Maroon and african backgrounds, with special emphasis on persons who were children of mixed marriages between these two major groups.

The use of demographic data to assist the ethnographer in pre-selecting an area which might prove to be a profitable one for a given study was attempted in this study. If time can be saved by

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1 The language collected has not been analyzed at the present time.

2 The drum beats and vocal music used for the calling of 38 sky gods, 68 earthbound gods and many ancestral zombies have been recorded but the music has not been transcribed.

pre-selecting areas, and if ethnographic data can be tested against certain types of quantitative data, use of this method should aid in the efficiency of the ethnographer in the field. Within the tentative limits laid down for use here, it would seem that the device was helpful.

Extensive use of tape recorders, both for interviewing informants and recording and analyzing ceremonies, was also made in this study. While the ethnographer's notebook was found to be a great value, the scope of materials collected was measurably broadened by the use of the tape recorder. It was found to be most valuable in recording conversations with informants or groups of informants; in playing back the material for them, and recording their comments, or varying versions of material on a given subject.

Also, by recording portions of each song at a Cumina, it was comparatively easy to play back the songs in order and record groups of drummers playing and singing each number, several days after a Cumina, under quieter conditions so that both the music and the words could be properly recorded and discussed. During this period, all parts of each ceremony were discussed, until every part of an action or ceremony was thoroughly understood and transcribed. Some statements or even asides, not understood at the time of the field interview proved to be extremely valuable to the total study.

In terms of theoretical constructs in cultural dynamics, this study has been a test of the hypothesis that the "cultural focus" of a group is at once the most changeable and the most viable aspect of culture. Accumulated data have indicated that elements of non-African religion borrowed most easily and frequently by the Morant Bay cults are:

names of gods and saints; names for new gods taken from new machines encountered (Cinema - Flash); religious objects from other religions, adapted and reinterpreted (the Bible and Roman Catholic medals used as charms in Cumina), (Sankey Christian hymns used for "Nine-Night" and to end either Memorial or Entombment dances in Cumina); and clothing (wedding dress as a standard Memorial african dress for the Queen of the Cumina). Borrowing and reinterpretation processes are seen in the practices of the obeah man who accepts East Indian magic, European black magic and uses, but reinterprets Christian crucifixes, medals and blessed pictures, for african charms and amulets.

The dynamic interest of these people in religion, as the focus of their culture, permits them to continue to develop within the context of their cultural heritage, religious structures, basically African (as evidenced in Cumina); structures with high degrees of development in a type of syncretism verging on reinterpretation (as seen in Revival); while retaining with it all a common life and respect between members of both groups. Members of Revival worship the triune God of the Christian religion, in African fashion; but, retain a respect and a belief in the validity of african gods and spirits. Members of Cumina maintain an active faith in their own gods and spirits, while they nevertheless respect the Christian God and the members of Revival.

The end result, then, of this study has been a further demonstration of the toughness and vitality of religion, the "cultural focus" of West African culture, as it carries over into the acculturative

situation of the New World. Religion in the Morant Bay Area of Jamaica, is clearly the most dynamic aspect of Negro culture. Further, religion may be expected to develop and change rapidly as long as it continues to be the focus of the way of life of this group.

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UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS

APPENDIX A

THE SKY GODS OF AFRICAN CUMINA

Oto (OTO), also known as King Zombie. Oto rules all of the gods and zombies and the whole spirit and human world. This means that he rules all the sky gods, earthbound gods, ancestral zombies, duppy spirits, and human beings. All deities take instruction from him and especially the earthbound gods and ancestral zombies. He seldom comes down and stands around the booth at a Cumina ceremony and eats his food. He never dances at Cumina.

He is fed calalu and white cane.[1] When he is on the earth, he lives in the ceiling of the house. He is fed in the right hand corner of the house, facing north, which is the southwest corner. It is here that he likes best to eat. He is fed on a four-cornered brick feeding place every day at high noon. His altar is made with three bricks, two set diagonally facing east and west, and the third touching the ends of these two, facing south.

Oto is the first god drummed to in an invocation of the drums; the beat of the banda, which is heard in every song that is played, is the first and fourth beat in 6/8 time. It is played in such a way as to produce a slightly higher note on the first beat than on the fourth.

His color is black; black cloth and black candles are used for him.

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1 Calalu is a West Indian vegetable (Solanum nodiflorum).

He attends the invocation of every Cumina and every private working and controls the total life of the people and their gods.

Obei (οβαι). He is a very dangerous god. He takes life; he kills. His hour is midnight. He is a very strong god, and the zombies take instructions from him. They will kill whomever he wants.

Obei seldom comes to a dance to possess an individual; but when he does come to a dance, it is very dangerous, and his beats are handled by the strongest drummers. At certain times, when he is called upon or feels the need to dance and does possess an individual, it is considered to be a very fearful occasion and often the possessed person dies.

An Obei possession was observed at two dances. His possessions are dramatic. It was only through very adroit and careful work on the part of some of the leading dancing zombies, that the two people possessed by Obei were safely brought through his possession. When he first comes into an individual, the force of his possession knocks the individual flat to the ground for probably ten seconds. Then the individual breaks for the nearest pole or tree and climbs up backwards, feet first. He kills his individuals by breaking their necks when their hold on the pole or tree is relaxed, and they fall to the ground.

He is fed white fowl blood; it must be a live fowl and the red blood is mixed with white rum.

Obei lives in cotton trees and is fed at the base and around a circle about the tree. He is fed at midnight, when he is being set (directed) to kill or to keep from killing someone. His color is black; a black cloth and black candles are used when calling him. His beat is a 6/8 beat with the accent on the 5th beat of the measure.

Jubee (JuBi). Jubee's principal work is that he carries water for Obei. He is a water messenger and lives in the kitchens. An evidence of Jubee at work is when the steam escapes from the snout of the tea kettle, it is Jubee working, carrying the water from the tea kettle to Obei. His hour of feeding is seven o'clock in the evening. He is fed in an iron pot in the pathway of the kitchen. He eats susumba, which is a little round seed, crushed and mixed with butter to form a little pattie. He has nothing to do with any other zombies or gods, but is used for whatever purpose Obei may have need for him.

His color is green; a green cloth and green candles are used to call him. If he is needed for private working, his drum beat can be sounded at five o'clock in the morning, at which time he can be called for work. His basic beat, is 6/8 time.

Famous (FeMJS), also known as Kish. Famous lives at the gate of the yard, and his principal duty is that of guarding the gate and yard. It is he, who lets in or out all other spirits. No spirit comes in unless Famous lets him in. He protects the whole yard. He likes goat meat and rice, which must be cooked without salt, and mixed with coconut oil. Famous is fed on top of the gate in a jar or a pot, preferably a small earthen jar. He is fed at two o'clock in the afternoon, but only when someone is home.

His beat is a 4/4 beat. His colors are blue; a blue cloth and a blue candle are used to call him. It is very important to feed Kish everyday, because then, he is satisfied at all times, which is most important since he guards the gate. He never dances, because he is on guard at the gate of all Cuminas and private workings, and is unable to

come into the dancing area.

Bebee (BeBi), whose other name is 'Self-Protect'. Bebee lives in a coffin in the bushes, and works for the sick. He flogs with a rod of iron, and is greatly respected by other spirits. He eats bananas, and sea fish. One does not scale the fish when preparing food for Bebee. The fish is cooked with the scales on. He is fed in a white face basin, a wash basin, placed under the floor of the house. He comes to eat at three o'clock in the morning when someone wants to work with him. He comes to dances at the same hour. At a Cumina, however, Bebee is fed white rum, as a token of the honor due him. He drinks the rum and is satisfied. His color is white; a white candle and the burning of white incense is used to call him. He likes incense very much.

His beat is 4/4 time.

Kakeei (KəKiai). Kakeei is a wicked god, who lives in a stone hole, and loves to kill people. He often comes in the shape of a mongoose. Some people claim to have seen him come right onto the dance floor of a Cumina during a dance. He eats ripe bananas, live crabs, or raw crab meat. His color is brown; a brown cloth and brown candle are used to call him. He eats at six o'clock in the morning, one o'clock in the afternoon, and four o'clock in the afternoon. He should be fed everyday a man is home. When fed daily, Kakeei never leaves the stone hole, but he will surely do this if he is not fed regularly. He is fed in a condensed milk can, with three holes punched in the top, and a handle fixed on the top of the can.

His beat is like the running of a mongoose. When being invoked or

being remembered as his hour comes during a Cumina, his beat must be played, and white rum blown into the air. The beat is 4/4 time, with use of 1/4 and 4/16 notes series; 1/4 note, 4/16 note, 1/4 note, 4/16 note. The pattern is involved, but built on this 4/4 base.

Belgium (BELjJM). Belgium is a white god, who lives by a pond. He feeds the birds, especially the Quack,[1] a red-headed bird with a black body, indigenous to Jamaica. He is fed grape nuts; these are grape seeds, ground into a meal. Belgium is fed at ten o'clock in the morning. His color is pink; a pink cloth and pink candle are used to call him. He lives under water in clean fresh water, either in a river or in a pond. He is fed by the side of the pond, on banana leaves; sometimes with four stones on the leaf to hold it down. His drum beat is often heard in country songs. It is a 4/4 military band beat.

Dupee (DUpi). Dupee lives in a coconut tree in the shape of a bat. He feeds on coconuts and works in the trees. He is a messenger god; he flies and travels day and night, carrying messages. He never rests. He is never fed, and does not dance. He is a working god. Dupee feeds himself, and has no specific hours of feeding. Dupee is seldom fed by men, except for a little rum at the base of his tree. His color is black, and he works for Oto; he is therefore useful in bringing messages to and from Oto.

His beat is a 4/4 rhythm.

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[1]Quack

Judee (JUDI). Judee, the god of justice, lives in shoes and works on court room cases for people. He eats eggs and wet sugar and is fed at ten o'clock in the morning, on the day he is called to help someone in a court case. He is a working god, and does not dance. He is a good god, and works hard for his people. It is felt that he does change the course of action in a court session.

The method used to call him for work is to read one of three Psalms; Psalms 7, 35, or 37. Part of the transmission of Judee's power into the judges minds and the people of the court is transmitted by putting egg shells on the steps or sidewalk approaching the court house. His color is white.

Balaam (Balam). This god is a god of the sea, who works fishermen in the seine, or the fish pot. He protects the seine or fish pot from other evil spirits and is a very strong god. He is fed raw chunks of lobster, beaten into pulp. He is fed in a calabash, placed on the shore of the sea at four o'clock in the morning and at three o'clock in the afternoon. Under some conditions, he is fed at twelve o'clock noon. This feeding is made when there is special need for protection which would occur if a bad sea was running, and some of the canoes had not yet returned. (Normally, all canoes are in by eleven o'clock in the morning.) The god would then be invoked for extra assistance to bring the crews back home safely. His color is red, since he is a cutting and clearing god. He is very powerful and has great sympathy for fishermen. (His drum beats are recorded, but not transcribed.)

Aitai (aiTai). Aitai god lives between the earth and the sky.

It is said he never goes up and he never comes down for any permanent residence, since his principal duty is that of a messenger god, between sky and earthbound gods. He is a rough man, and uses his rod when he comes in possession at dances. He makes people squeal. He is very powerful, since he alone can contact the earth and the sky at the same time, and therefore, can protect earthbound spirits and people who live on the earth, as well as carry messages. He is a sly old fellow and it is believed that he likes to play around with women. There are a number of women who become pregnant because of Aitai's playing around.

All Africans have a seal (altar - feeding center) in their yard to Aitai. The seal is made by placing four stones in a square with one stone in the center on top of it. Aitai rests in this little house, and eats whatever offerings are left there for him; principally, sugar and water. He also likes ripe bananas and rum. A little food is placed there for him three times a day; at seven o'clock in the morning, twelve o'clock noon and six o'clock in the evening.

Aitai's color is light green or "isle of trove", but when he is invoked, he often likes to have a pink candle burned for him. He is always invoked at dances at three o'clock in the morning and is ready to work between four and six o'clock in the morning. His beat is a marching 4/4 beat.

Teesha (Tiš). Teesha, a strong sky god, lives on the earth and is the mother of all the earth. She is very important, because she gave her flesh to man. Today, she gives her flesh and blood to man and is connected to all the women of the afrikan cult. She is very busy, sweeping the yards of all the homes, and she tries her best to sweep

out and destroy all evil that she might find there. Teesha never dances, but all the gods go through her when they come to the dance.

She is fed at various times and places, but always at least twice a day. She eats pumpkin; her color is dark brown, like the color of the earth, but she likes to have a blue candle lighted for her.

Batoon (BATUN). Batoon is an agricultural god who lives in the fields of the plantation. He works in the fields doing most of the types of work that the people do. He weeds the grass, and tries to keep growing things healthy. He likes to dance, and occasionally, in the evening, he comes to dances. His dance is a simple erect myal dance around the ring. He eats bananas and is fed on the ground at twelve o'clock noon. His color is blue and a blue candle is burned for him. His song is "Manuka, De Land Gal". His beat is a complex beat, closely associated to that of Oto and Teesha, recorded but not transcribed.

Balow (Bɑlo). Balow lives in the open yard of the home. He sleeps there and protects the family and the yard. He does not dance. He is fed twice a day at two o'clock and six o'clock in the evening. He eats white rice from a spoon. His color is black, his song is "Thomas Acala" and his beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Tuees (TwIS). Tuees is a god of the roadway and wayside, who walks along in the night and keeps spirits and man company. He is a friendly god, who likes to be with people and tries to keep them from harm. He does not dance and is never fed, since he feeds himself as he goes along. His color is blue, and he is said to eat green leaves, or leaves of any color. His song is "Grave-Yard, Don't Bother Me". His

beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Faha (F)H)). Faha is a house god, who lives in a corner of the house and spends his time visiting homes and protecting the people. He eats pumpkin, and is fed at two o'clock in the morning for special workings. His food can be left on the table in a white dish, as he comes and eats it whenever he wants to during the night. He is a working god, and does not dance. His color is red, which indicates that he is a cutting and clearing god, when necessity arises to protect the home from an evil power or force. His song is the country song "To Winda". His drum beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Abell (ABEL). Abell lives in the church; all churches, and gets his name from a bell. He works with the parson of the church and never leaves the church property itself. He eats bread and water, and is fed on a silver plate underneath the pulpit. His feeding time is six o'clock in the morning, one hour before the earliest service held in the average church in the Morant Bay area. Since he lives in the church and works with the parson or minister, he does not go to dances. His color is black and white and he comes to the song "Watsa da Matta". The drum beats are recorded, but not transcribed.

Kah (K'). Kah is a sky god who lives in the grave. He sleeps in the graves and works when he wants to. He is a messenger god, going from the grave to the sky, bearing messages from spirits of the dead to the sky gods. He likes fried pork, and is fed on the bare earth, only at times when he is needed for work, and then, at one o'clock in the afternoon. He is a cutting and clearing god. His color is red, and a

red candle is burned for him. He likes to dance, and dances at many Cuminas in the area. His dance motion is backward in the booth, when the possession is complete. His favorite hour for possession at Cumina is around midnight. His beats have been recorded, but not transcribed.

Falee (FALI). Falee lives on top of the mountains where he works as a messenger god. He uses the top of a high mountain for the center of his activities because he works principally by air. He is not fed, but feeds himself, eating the green leaf from the mango tree. When called for private workings, however, one selects fine green leaves from the mango tree, which he eats while listening. His color is red, and he is not known to take people by possession at Cumina. He comes to the Bilah song, "Mama, Kisallela". His drum beats are recorded, but not transcribed.

Meeso (Miso). Meeso lives in grocery shops and at markets, working with shop masters and market people. He is fed ripe plantain at two o'clock in the morning. His color is black. He does not dance, since he is a working god, concerned with taking care of the food and produce. He comes to the song, "Long Bag of Money". His drum beats have been recorded, but not transcribed.

Fee (Fi). Fee lives near the sea and works with fishermen, protecting their boats, seines and nets, while they are out of the water. He controls the beaches and concerns himself with the problems of fishermen from the waters edge throughout the beach area. He likes fish, but also takes a little white rum. His color is blue and a blue candle is burned for him. He does not dance, but is very active protecting the

equipment and supplies of fishermen. He comes to the song, "Wan Go Homo". His beats have been recorded, but not transcribed.

Be-Al (BI-EL). Be-Al is a penner, who cares for, and works in cattle pens. He eats nothing but milk, and is fed many times during the day, especially during milking periods. He likes to have his milk in a condensed milk pan, which is placed right in the cattle pen where he lives. His color is white. He does not dance, but will come for private working to the song "Grave Yard, Don't Bother Me". His beats are recorded, but not transcribed.

Abrack (JBRJK'). Abrack is a healing god. He lives in shoes, and works in the body of men. If a man has cramps, Abrack will get into the body and get the cramps out. He works in all types of bodily illness. His food is roast potatoes, and he is fed at seven o'clock in the morning. His color is white, and he dances at seven o'clock in the evening. His song is "Timballa". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Abat (JBJT). Abat protects drivers of cars, trucks, or trains. He is a moving god, going about all the time. He lives in cars, trucks, and trains; eats ripe bananas, and is fed either in the vehicle or on the ground. He does not dance, since he is a working god. His color is blue, and a blue candle is used in invoking him.

Tatoom (TJTUM). Tatoom lives in the drums, especially in the playing drum, but he spends some time in the banda as well. His duty is to help to invoke the gods. All of the gods pass through him at a Cumina. It is he who makes the drum heads tight and receptive to the beats and the rhythms of all the gods. He is fed white rum, and will

not do his work unless he is well fed. The rum is sprayed on the drum, rubbed into the head and along side of the drum, so that Tatoom can eat while he works. Tatoom's color is black, and he is in the drum at all times, ready to work as soon as he is fed, at any hour of the day or night. He does dance, but he dances through the bodies of the drummers and the obeah men who work with him. His song is "Daylight, Mama", and his beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Abro (JBRO). Abro is a god of the Cumina. He lives in the center post in the middle of the dancing booth. He goes up and down the post throughout the dance, and his duty is to bring the gods up and down the post into the drums. He eats pumpkin and is fed on the ground at the base of the center post at seven o'clock in the morning and at seven o'clock in the evening, at the beginning of the dance. He does dance, and may dance at any time during the Cumina. He loves to dance on his back, and has a wiggling motion, similar to that of a snake, taking the possessed dancing zombie and wiggling straight out from the post to the edge of the dancing booth. He loves the beat of the catatic and becomes more active in his work when these sticks are being used against the center post. His song is "Congo, Hear Ye, Congo". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Ada Brack (JDJBRJK'). Ada Brack lives by the riverside, and is a messenger god to all the spirits of the river and the ocean. He cares for and lives with the fish. He is fed parched ganja, which is gathered from the side of the river, salted and parched in a pot. The food is placed on the ground, by the riverside, on top of a broad white stone. Ada Brack eats at five o'clock in the evening. His color is white.

Ada Brack is important as a working god, because by invoking him, messages can be sent to any and all of the gods of the river, lake and ocean. He comes to dances and likes to dance. His song is "Congo Man". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Abeegil (JBiGIL). Abeegil lives in the cane fields and works as a cane cutter. He eats the juice of the sugar cane, which he likes to have placed in a pan. He can be used to cut down anything, but more especially to do physical damage to trees, crops and to a house. He can also be used to kill a man. His color is red, and a red candle is burned for him. He comes to dances at three o'clock in the morning and has to be handled with care, since he is very dangerous. His song is "Coo La Dille A". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Sahtoon (SJTUN). Sahtoon is a god of liquor and alcohol. He lives in the rum bars. He is protection for bar maids, and people who work in the bars, because the rum there constantly attracts spirits of all kinds, and without protection, someone might be injured. He is fed rum in a clear glass, on the counter, at eight o'clock in the morning, when the bars open, and again in the evening, when the bars are closed. He is a working god, and does not dance. His color is black and his song is "Rickee Taw". His drum beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Banto (BJNTO). Banto lives in the coconut walk in the center of coconut plantations. His duty is to protect the property; especially the coconut trees. There is a story that Banto is the god who throws coconuts down from the trees at people he does not like. He spends his

days and nights going from tree to tree. He likes coconuts very much. He is fed on the ground and likes the jelly and juice of green coconuts, mixed with white rum. His color is red. He can be a dangerous god, and sometimes kills people when he hits them with coconuts. He does not dance, since he is a working god. His song is "Wan Go Homo, Mandunga". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Flash (FlaS✓). Flash lives in the theater house and protects the equipment; especially the motion picture camera itself. He is not fed and has no time for calling, since he is strictly a working god. His color is white, indicating that he is peaceful. It was indicated that our tape recorder was working because Flash was working with it, making this possible. He likes the song "Three Days, Three Nights". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Twiss (TWIS). Twiss is a carpenter and lives in the carpenter's shop. He works on buildings of all kinds and is fed potatoes in the middle of the building at one o'clock in the afternoon. He likes wild potatoes best of all. He eats his meal on a broad piece of board. Twiss is a working god, and does not dance. His color is blue; a blue candle is burned for him. He likes the song, "Timbala". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Sango (S✓NGO). Sango is a blacksmith, working with the blacksmith on iron. He does not eat anything, and is strictly a working god. His color is red and a red candle is burned for him. His song is "Wan Go Homo, Cudjo". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Goomba (GUMBA). Goomba is a dancer, and likes to dance all the

time. He comes to every Cumina and dances all evening, with a pleasant swinging dance, arms outstretched, and a smile on his face. He eats rice and mutton and likes the song, "Fair Ye Well, O". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Saha (SJHJ). Saha is a shop man and works in a tinsmith's shop. He likes to work around the men in the tin shop. He is fed in a soldered tin pan and eats anything that is tossed to him. Saha has no special time of feeding. His color is white and his song is "Morning, O". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Mandoonbay (MJNDUNBC). Mandoonbay is a dancer who loves to be with dancing zombies and drummers. He lives in the most african part of a town and spends a great deal of time in Staunton. The expression african town was explained in this way: that this god visits obeahmen drummers' homes to the exclusion of all others. He likes these african homes and makes this, then, the african section of town. He comes to all dances, and dances many times during the evening. He eats fish and can be fed at one o'clock in the afternoon. He is usually fed in a frying pan, since he likes fried fish best of all. The pan is placed in the middle of the house or the middle of the yard. Mandoonbay dances a belly rubbing type of dance. His color is black and his song is "Long Bag of Money". His beats have been recorded, but not transcribed.

Atchak (JTĆJK). Atchak is a teacher who lives in the school house. He teaches the spirits, and helps to teach all of the children. He is a working god, and does not dance. He likes to eat green plantain and is fed on top of a desk. His color is black and his song, is

"Old Gal Simminninee". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Faylah (FeL). Faylah is a runner, who carries messages from men to the gods. He comes and goes as he pleases, and lives almost anywhere. He likes rum, is fed at noon, and eats many things. He comes to dances, but he does not dance, nor does he stay very long, because he is very busy. He may listen for a while to the drum beats, but then he goes along. His song is "Hear Ye Congo". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Chute (C'MT). Chute is a god who protects and lives with birds. His home is by the side of the wash basins. He is also found wherever one finds the Quak, a red-headed bird, with a black body and red feet, indigenous to Jamaica. He spends a good deal of time in the water grass, but he is fed along side of a pan. His feeding time is five o'clock in the morning. He likes to dance, and comes to Cumina at twelve o'clock midnight or four o'clock in the morning. When called for special work, he eats sugar and water. His color is white and his song is "Vida Twello Me". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Most black and white gods come to Cumina.

EARTHBOUND GODS

Macoo (Maqu). Macoo is one of a Trinity of Gods, often mentioned and invoked at public and private workings, almost as much as Oto and Kish in the sky god pantheon. The three gods, Macoo, Appei and Beeco, also have the names Shadrak, Meshak and Abendigo.

Macoo lives in a coconut tree, and does evil. He has a great many evil spirits working for him. Unlike some of the other earthbound gods, who seem to have come into existence in Jamaica, and are indigenous to the West Indies, Macoo is believed to be an African God. He eats white rum, and likes to dance at ten o'clock in the evening. When he dances at ten o'clock in the evening, he comes as a white god; his color is red, and red candles are burned in the ceremony. Macoo's preferred song is "Poor Stranger". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Appei (apiai), whose second name is Meshak. Appei lives in a rock along side of the river, near the home of the River Maid. He almost never leaves the water. He is a working god, and stays in his house to await being called upon. He is used to cure many of the deseases which come indirectly from the water. He is not fed, except at private workings, when he is given white rum. He dances, and usually comes to Cumina at two o'clock in the morning. Appei's color is blue and a blue candle is burned for private working. When he comes to Cumina at two o'clock in the morning as a black god, the color is different. His song

is "Wan Go Homo". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Beeco (Bik'o), whose other name is Abendigo. Beeco lives in the cotton tree in the woods, and travels from one cotton tree to another. He is a killer, and is reputed to be a very evil force, who unites evil forces to work for him. He is related to Shadrak, or Macoo. He is fed white rum, and comes to dances at four o'clock in the morning, as a black god. He can be called for private working Monday through Thursday, at four o'clock in the morning, by use of white or red cloths and candles, but on Friday mornings, a brown candle is lighted for him. Beeco's song is "Finger Nailo, God Mother". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

All three of these gods are respected and feared. They are considered to be very strong gods; almost too strong for dancing. It is said that they are so strong, that they sometimes kill when they come to possess a dancing zombie.

Babee (BeBi), whose other name is Daniel. Babee lives in a little hut, in a field shelter. He lives in a half coconut shell, placed in the shelter that men use to protect them when working out in the field. Babee is a messenger god, and works with other earthbound gods. He eats lobster, and is fed in the hut where he lives, on a small piece of white cloth at two o'clock in the afternoon. He dances at any hour; his color is white and his song is "Rickeeta". His drum beats have been recorded, but not transcribed.

Buta (Buta), whose second name is Singquess. Buta lives in the power house, and runs the machinery which makes electric power. He

eats in the power house, and is fed sugar cane from a spoon. He does not dance, since he is a working god, and never leaves the power house; even if the current is shut off, and the dynamo is not running. His color is red and his song is "Kissaleea Mama". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed. He is called at three o'clock in the morning, for special work.

Leyah (Leya). Leyah lives in the tomb, and goes around as a companion to other spirits at all times. He eats fish and is fed on the ground, at ten o'clock in the evening. He dances, and works for duppies and zombies. His color is red, and his song is "Coo Day, Dat Me Bella Say". His beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Matee (MJTi). Matee is a farmer who lives and works on the farm, picking berries, and all kinds of grain. He eats white bread, and for special work, is fed near a tree on the farm, at seven o'clock in the evening. His favorite song is "King Congo Mama". His beats have been recorded, but not transcribed.

Ajax (ljax). Ajax is a founder, who lives in the foundry and protects its machinery. He is never fed, but gets his own food. He does not dance, because he is strictly a working god, who can be called for special work at four o'clock in the afternoon. His color is blue, and his song is "Kissaleea Mama". His beats have been recorded, but not transcribed.

Tatano (TaTJNO). Tatano is a slave master, who lives in the boss man's home. His job is to drive the duppies, and keep them working like slaves. He sends them out with messages and orders them around. He is

fed wild pumpkin, crushed with coconut oil, served on a blue plate. His color is blue, and he dances at seven o'clock in the evening and four o'clock in the morning. His song is "Simeea". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Amesa (ƆMisa), or Anneah. Amesa lives in a manger in a horse stable, and works with the race horse and the jockies. He protects them, and keeps evil away from the horses. He eats eggs and is fed in the stable on the ground. He is fed at four o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon, just before the racing hour. His color is red, and he does not dance, since he is a working god, on duty all the time. His song is "Alando Mondumba". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Bluca (BʰLUKA), or Bluka. He lives in, and takes care of the palm trees, but has no other duty. He is never fed, and does not dance. His color is white, and his song is "Walk all the Night". This god is never seen, but can be heard whispering in the palm trees at night. His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Beliis (BELIS). Beliis is a fisherman, whose duty is to help other fishermen. He eats green bananas, mixed with sugar, and is fed in a calabash. He is fed about three o'clock in the morning, which is about the time fishermen begin to gather on the beach. His color is red, and he does not dance, since he is a working god. He likes the song "Vida Twella Me", and several other Bilah songs; his beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Odek (ODEK). Odek lives on ships and loves to travel. He goes

from country to country, working on the ship. Odek works principally for the protection of the captain of the ship. He is fond of beef, and is fed on the deck of the ship at seven o'clock in the morning, one o'clock in the afternoon, and four o'clock in the evening. He does not dance; his color is black, and he likes the song, "Bongo, Lalee, One Bongo". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Jerome (JEROM). Jerome is a singer, traveling around the country-side, with never any special place to call home. He can be called for working by singing, attends all ring play and other kinds of singing attractions. He likes the songs, "Alanda Cumina", and "Wan Go Homo, Cabala". He feeds himself. Jerome's color is blue, and he sings and dances when he comes to Cumina. His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Fata (FATA). Fata is a cultivator, who lives right on the plantation, and likes to till the soil. His food is white potatoes, and he likes to be fed in an iron pot, placed in the plantation field. His color is red, and his song is "Don't Care What Them Say". He is a working god, and does not dance. His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Seeco (SIKO). Seeco is a stone breaker, who lives in a quarry, or on the side of the road, where stones are broken. He lives in a little stone hut, eats green corn, and can be fed at any time. He feeds himself most of the time, getting his corn from the field. Seeco is called to Cumina at one o'clock in the morning. His color is green, and he comes to dances at one o'clock in the morning. His song, is "Yea, Yea, Yea,

Mama Com Tillee Wan Go Homo, Mama". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Tromendos (TROMENDOS). Tromendos is a tailor, who lives in the tailor shop, and helps the tailor with his sewing. He likes sugar and water placed in the water basin, which he prefers to be porcelain, rather than enamel or tin. His color is green, and his song, is "Oh Teena, Oh". He does not dance, since he is a working god. His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Baleese (BELIS). Baleese is a killer, who lives in the grave. He is reputed to be very dangerous when placed on a job. He eats sweet sops, but not very many. He carries the sweet sops to the foot of the grave, places some at the head, foot and on either side of the grave; then he comes and eats what he wants later. He is never fed unless he is called to private workings, where he is to kill, or prevent someone from being killed. His color is green. Baleese does not dance, since he is a busy god, whose job is to work with death at all times. His song is "Rickeeta, Rokeeta". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Kachee (KAČI). Kachee is a drummer. He lives in the drum head, assists the drummers throughout the dance, and cares for the drums at other times. His food is white rum, and he is fed by placing small cups of rum in the middle of the drum head or in the belly of the drum, as it is called. His color is green. He likes to dance, but cannot come out of the drum at night. He dances at one o'clock in the afternoon. His song is "Kisseleea Mama". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Cynthia (SINθia). Cynthia is a working god, who washes clothes and works with the laundresses in laundries; or wherever women wash clothes. She lives in a stone hole by the riverside. She eats green potatoes; likes to have them cut up for her, but not cooked. The food is placed near the mouth of the hole where she lives. She does not dance, since she is a working god. Her color is green. She likes the song "Graveyard Don't Bother Me". Her beat is recorded, but not transcribed.

Dapa (Dapɔ). Dapa is an athlete who loves to play cricket; lives on the grounds; cares for the wickets and the field. He likes wine, and is fed at seven o'clock or eight o'clock in the morning, or ten o'clock on the mornings of cricket matches. When cricket is being played in the afternoon, he is fed at four o'clock that afternoon, as well. He is a working god, and therefore, he does not dance. His color is red, and a red candle is burned for him before a cricket match. Then, he is careful to take care of all the cricket players. His song is "Finger Nailo, Godmother". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Brownie (BRaºNi). Brownie is a mason, who lives in his own house, which he built himself. He causes some cement to fall into a pile, and when it hardens, makes this his home. He is never fed, and informants believe that he does not eat. He is a working god, and therefore, he does not dance. His color is black, and his song is "Wan Go Homo, Cudjo". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Batch (BəTʃ'). Batch lives in the goat stall, or stays out in

the fields with the goats. His job is to protect the goats from any harm that may come. He likes goat milk very much; is fed in the yaba, which is made by putting a number of bricks together, almost like a jar, then pouring the goat milk over it. He does not dance, since he is a working god. His color is brown, and his song is "When We Dead, Oh". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Chickee (CIKi). Chickee is a trickster, who likes to play tricks on people. He lives in a bottle under the house, and takes on the shape of a cricket with two long whiskers. He lives this way so that he can watch out for people, since he assists in gambling games, and enjoys gambling himself. He eats raw mutton, and likes to be fed in a little sardine can under the house. The can is placed near the mouth of the bottle, then he comes out and eats. He does not dance, since he keeps pretty busy taking care of his own business. His color is black, and his song is "Don't Care What Them Say". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Fitt (FIT). Fitt lives in the head of men. He takes care of the brain; tries to give men understanding, and keep their brains working effectively. He eats white beans and is fed right in the home. A place is not set for Fitt, because he eats right from the plate of a person, and takes care of his own needs that way. When a man goes insane, it is said that a spirit has forced Fitt out of the brain. When this is accomplished, the other spirit takes control, and the person loses his mind. A blue candle is burned for Fitt, and at dancing hours, his color is blue. He likes to dance, and dances at twelve o'clock midnight, and four o'clock in the morning. His special song is "Maroon

Gone". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

When a person has a headache, it is believed that Fitt is having difficulties, and needs to be fed. At this time, he is fed white rum, which is poured into the hands, and then run through the hair. White rum in the hair is of vital importance, as it serves a dual purpose; it cools the brain and feeds Fitt.

Keel (K'iL). Keel is a killer, who lives either in the kitchen, under the cupboard in the kitchen, or in the pantry. He eats green pepper, which is put under the cupboard, or in the closet of the kitchen on the floor or ground, near the corner of the kitchen. He protects the kitchen from invasion of rodents, roaches, etc., and kills animals and insects that might harm his family. His color is brown, and he does not dance, since he is a working god. His song is "Sinee Gal". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Mendoo (MINDU). Mendoo is a sea god, who works for the protection of a boat that is anchored at sea; such a situation as occurs when the large ships come for sugar shipments and the barges used for loading are anchored out at sea. He eats ripe bananas and dry sugar. He is fed in the boat, on a piece of canvass, placed on the bottom of the boat. He is fed only when there is a particular need for him to guard the boat. He is a working god, and does not dance. His song is "Malavo". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Atlas (ATLAS). Atlas is the renovator who cleans clothes and lives in the dry cleaning shop. His food is sugar, water, and stale bread, which is placed in a pan in the shop under the working bench.

He is a working god, and therefore, does not dance. His color is white, and his song, is "Simeea, Simeea". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Alec (ALIK'). Alec, who is a gardener, lives under the shade of the rose bushes, as he does not have a house. He protects the gardens, and helps the gardeners. He feeds himself, is a working god, and therefore, does not dance. His color is red, and his song, is "Wan Go Homo". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

David (DeVID). David, who is an accountant, lives and works in the bank, keeping everything in order. He is fed in a trough made of board, under the main counter of the bank, but only when there is special need for him, which is usually at the end of the month, when the books are being closed at the bank. His menu consists of green cantaloupe. He is a working god, and therefore, does not dance. His color is dark brown, and his song is "Maneeno". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

James (Jems). James is a protector for the god Appei. He is one of Appei's assistants, and works with him at all times. He is essentially a messenger god for Appei, getting questions from obeahmen, and bringing back answers, as directed by Appei. He lives by the side of Appei, in a rock, in the river, by the river maid. His color is dark brown. James does not dance; but always accompanies Appei in his dancing. He eats beans, and is fed on a piece of wood at the side of the river. His song is "Galla What Sa Da Matta". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Ivan (aⁱvaN). Ivan, a power god for gasoline or steam motors, lives in the power house and works with the machines that run the dynamoes. He is the god who drives the piston in a steam motor backwards and forwards, or up and down in the gasoline motor. Ivan's color is green. He eats tomatoes, and is fed on the ground, or the terrace of the power house. His hour of feeding is twelve o'clock noon and six o'clock in the evening. Ivan is a working god, and therefore, does not dance. His song is "Oh Teena, Oh". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Labon (LeBaN). Labon lives in a house where coconuts are stored. He works here in assisting in the bagging of the coconuts, and cares for them until they are delivered to the Copra Factory to be processed. He likes a mixture of wheat and dry coconut meal, and eats in a paper or cloth bag. He is a working god, and does not dance. Labon's color is red, and his song is "Siminnee". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Leah (Le?). Leah is a female god, who lives in a house made from a coconut shell and placed along the water's edge. She takes water to Teesha, who is the female god of the earth. Aside from being a water bearer, Leah is one of Teesha's messengers. Her food is lettuce, which she likes to eat on a coconut limb. Leah loves to dance, and when she comes to dances, she is known as "The Water Maid". She dances at twelve o'clock midnight, three o'clock and five o'clock in the morning. Her color is red, and her favorite song is "Maroon Gone". Her beats have been recorded, but not transcribed.

Augustus (Jqastas). Augustus, who is a female god, lives in a bus, and works with the chauffeur. Her particular job is to protect the steering mechanisms and the general handling of the bus. Her food, which is parched onions, is placed under the driver's seat, where she eats. The only time that Augustus eats is at five o'clock in the morning, before the bus starts. She likes to dance, and dances at seven o'clock in the evening. Her color is red, and she likes the song, "Poor Stranger". Her beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

This spirit can be appreciated, when one rides the winding roads of Jamaica, in one of the buses needing repairs. Every day there is proof of the efficacy of believing in Augustus. Occasionally, Augustus fails, and there is a terrible wreck.

Ezekiel (izikil). Ezekiel is a messenger god, and works exclusively for Aitai. He lives with Aitai and takes messages to and from Aitai, as he serves people. His food is scallions. The scallions are prepared by beating them, then wrapping the beaten scallion in a piece of cloth. The cloth is tied together with a piece of black thread, and hung from the roof of the house. Ezekiel has no special time of feeding, but eats when he comes by, which may be any hour of the day or night. He loves to dance, and is one of the very popular gods in this area. He dances at four o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon, which identifies him as a myal sun god.

The myal sun gods are especially strong possession gods, who can withstand the mid-day sun. His position as a messenger god for Aitai gives him particularly powerful connections. He likes the Bilah song, "Landeman He Lied Do". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

King Makoo (MaKu). Makoo, a preacher who lives in the graveyard, preaches and teaches the other spirits, and is in contact with all of the spirits who live in the graveyard. He bears messages for them, and is very powerful. His food is guinip and he normally feeds himself, eating at four o'clock in the morning. His food is served on the ground in the graveyard. He likes to dance, and his dance is like the motion of a bat; he flaps his wings. Many times he dances at three o'clock in the morning. His song is "Poor Megilliard Gone". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Davis (DaVIS). Davis lives in the church yard. He is a bell ringer, and his major duty is to see that the bell, which is only in the church yard, is in order. He is the god who rings the clock bell. He is never fed, and he has no color. He is a working god, and therefore, does not dance. He has neither a song, nor a regular beat.

Percy (PRCi). Percy is a garage man, who lives in the garage. His job is to protect motor vehicles, which he does at all times. His food is oranges, and he particularly likes the juice of oranges. The juice is placed in a glass on a shelf, which is built in the corner, near the work bench. He eats at two o'clock in the afternoon. Percy is a working god, and does not dance. His color is red, and his song is "Kissaleea Mama". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Mabell (MeBeL). Mabell is a female god, who lives in a bamboo tree near a dressmaker's shop. She is a dressmaker and guardian for dressmakers, working in the shop throughout the day and guarding the shop at night. She likes to eat the juice of star apples, which is

placed in a bottle at the bottom of the coconut tree nearest to the shop. Whenever possible, she likes to have a little lime juice with her star apple juice. She is fed at two o'clock in the morning, when there is special need of the dressmaker for her extraordinary services. She is a working god, and does not dance. Her color is white, and her song is "Machinda, Cut My Throat." Her beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Daratee (DARATI). Daratee is a female god who lives in a box, built like a small coffin, which is placed on the floor, underneath the head end of the bed. Her duty is to protect a person while he or she is sleeping, but more especially, a person who is in some danger of spirit attack, when he is unconscious through sleep. She is used by obeah men to protect very sick patients, who have lost consciousness; especially patients with high fevers. The patient is wet all over, having been bathed by Daratee; then, he gets well. Most obeah men keep a shrine for Daratee underneath their beds, and depend upon her for protection and for the cure of certain types of violent illnesses. She likes to dance, and often dances at four o'clock in the morning, though she can dance at other times. In her dance, she touches shoulders with another individual. Her food is eota apples, sliced very thin, which she eats on top of her box. She is fed at any time; whenever one wants to call her. Daratee's color is black, and a black candle is used to call her. Her song is "Allandee Cumina." Her beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Fanceeko (FANCIKO). Fanceeko is a male god, and works with the electricians. When he becomes disturbed, the lights flicker; when he

is off duty, or not on the job, the lights go out. He is not fed, and does not dance, since he is a working god. His color is red, and he likes the song, "Maroon Gone." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Archie (aRCˇi). Archie is a butcher, and lives in the butcher shop. He works with the butcher, helps him, and protects the meat in the shop. He eats all kinds of meat, and normally feeds in the stall where the meat is being cut. If needed for special working, meat is chopped up and fed to him underneath the table. He is a working god, and therefore, does not dance. His color is blue, and he likes the song, "Vida Twello Me." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Zache (Zak'i). Zache lives in the open air, and travels along with the breeze. He likes open spaces, and does not like to be confined. He is a messenger god, travels a great deal, and does many things. For private workings, he eats potatoes, and can be found at all times in the theatre house. He has no special song. He is invoked, but by the calling of his name. He has no beat, but will come to anyone who calls his name. His color is white, and since he is a working god, he does not dance.

Uriah (yuRa'a). Uriah is a musician, and lives with dance bands. He goes along wherever the bands go, and protects the instruments. During the dance, he works with the musicians, and helps to give them force to play the music. He is fed at the home of a musician at four o'clock in the evening, before going out to the dance. He likes to eat ripe acke, and is fed in a white saucer. His color is green, and he

dances with the musicians, but does not come to Cumina. He likes the song, "Bango Man." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Moses (*Mosis*). Moses lives on the top of the tower of the church. He stays there at all times, and represents the parson of the church. When the minister or priest comes to the church, Moses serves him. He helps him preach the sermon, and celebrate the Mass. He sees that things go well for the minister at all times, and gets whatever he needs. When the minister kneels down to pray, or goes to the altar, in the case of the Church of England, or the Catholic Mass, people can not see what the parson is doing; but he is making some kind of ceremony to Moses, and Moses is there at that time. Moses eats bread, and is fed under the pulpit of the church in an aluminum pan. He also likes a little wine, and at Communion time, he has wine and bread. He is a working god, and does not dance. His color is red, and he likes the song, "Mackinze Gone". His drum beat has been recorded, but not transcribed. ("Wan Mackinze Gone")

Teena (*Tin*). Teena is a female god and a dancer. She lives in different places, and is found wherever there is a dance. When she dances in possession of a dancing zombie, she dances with her eyes closed, a smile on her face, and outstretched arms. Her color is red, and she eats fowl and white rice. A hand full of rice and a few pieces of chicken are thrown on the ground, and she comes and eats. Her song is "Oh Teena, Oh", and she also enjoys the song, "Long Bag of Money." Her beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Jimmy (*Jimi*). Jimmy is a carpenter, and loves to work with the

carpenters. He lives in the carpenter's shop at night, and during the day, he goes out with them on whatever job they may have, watching over the tools and the carpenters, and working along with them. He is never fed, and since he is a working god, he does not dance. His color is white, and he likes the song, "Oh Come Along, Dilly." He beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Cain (K'eN). Cain lives in a mountain at the head of the river, serves the River Maid, and is one of the river gods. His food is river fish, and he feeds himself there in the river. His color is green, and he loves to dance. He dances with a shuffling motion, swaying from side to side in an easy bend; sucking in his breath, and making a "sash, sash" sound as he dances. He likes to come to Cumina at ten o'clock in the evening. His song is a country song called, "King Zombie Coo Coo." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Beetel (BiTJL). Beetel lives in the butler room, works with the butler and guards the pantry. He is fed green beans at twelve o'clock noon, or three o'clock in the evening. He does not dance, since he is a working god. His color is white. His song is "Bambaluchee Bambala." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Sincabo (SINKaBO). Sincabo lives in the ice plant, and helps to make ice. He is a working god, and does not dance. He eats ripe mango, and is fed on top of the ice, where the mango is sliced and laid for him. He is fed at six-fifteen o'clock in the morning, at the beginning of the morning shift in the ice plant. His color is blue, and he likes the song, "Poor Megelliard Gone." His beat has been recorded, but not

transcribed.

Gerald (JIRALD). Gerald lives in a bamboo tree. He is a seine builder, and works with the fishermen when they are making seines. He protects the seines, and tries to keep them from breaking when they are drying in the air. His food is cabbage, and he is fed in a saucer on the floor of the fishermen's house. When he is called for special protection and special working, he is fed at four-thirty o'clock in the evening. He is a working god, and does not dance. He has no song, and is called by name.

Melia (Milia). Melia lives in the bakery shop. She takes care of baking of bread, rolls, and all the machinery in the bakery shop that mixes bread. She likes to eat chopped foods, and eats almost anything, if it is chopped up for her; especially bread and cake. She is fed at three o'clock in the morning. She is a working god, and does not dance. Her color is white, and she likes the song, "Maya, Maya." Her beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Wilmott (WILMAT). Wilmott lives in the bushes, and is a coal burner. He guards the wood as it is being made into coke for coal. He is a working god, and does not dance. His food is corn meal mixed with cane. He is fed on the ground at one o'clock in the afternoon, in a bucket, near the wood that is being made into coke. His color is black, and he likes the song, "Long Bag of Money." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Benjamin (BINjAMIN). Benjamin lives in the poor house, and works

with the nurses, taking care of the old folks and the poor. He is a working god, and does not dance. His color is green; his food is a bit of crushed beef on a banana leaf, which he likes to eat in the middle of the yard on a poor farm. He is fed at ten o'clock at night. He likes the song, "Wats A Da Matta Gal". His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Darcos (DARKOS). Darcos is a female god, who lives in the post office, working with the post mistress. She is a working god, and never dances. She likes wine and bread, and is fed in a glass at twelve o'clock noon and four-fifteen o'clock in the morning. Her color is blue, and she likes the song, "Don Care Wat Dem Say." Her beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Felix (FILIX). Felix works with the shoe maker, and lives in the shoe maker's shop. He is a working god, and does not dance. His food is grated coconut, which he likes to eat in a calabash, or on a piece of board, at seven o'clock in the morning on the roof top. He also can be fed at twelve o'clock noon, and at five-thirty o'clock in the evening. His color is red, and he likes the song, "Gal Don Care Wat Dem Say." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Tampo (TAMPO). Tampo lives in the sugar factory and works with the man making sugar. He is a working god, and does not dance. His color is green. His food is boiled corn, shelled off the cob, and put on a piece of board or brown paper, on the ground, at twelve-thirty o'clock midnight. He likes the song, "Tanga Langa Gene." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Fasta (Fasta). Fasta lives on the train, and works with the engineer on the train. He is a working god, and does not dance. His food is the juice from a star apple, which he eats in a milk pan near the driver on the engine. He eats at five o'clock in the morning, and one o'clock in the afternoon. His color is black, and he likes the song, "Wan Go Talk." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Obe (OBi). Obe lives in the market, and takes care of the market place. He works with the market women, and also with the butcher. He is a working god, and does not dance. He likes boiled bread, fruits and butter, and he eats it under the stall, in a calabash, at seven o'clock in the morning, twelve o'clock noon, and three-thirty o'clock in the evening. His color is blue. He likes the song, "Three Days, Three Nights." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Erwin (ERWIN). Erwin lives in the gas station, and works with the gas attendants taking care of gas, so that it does not explode. He is a working god, and does not dance. His food is a little bit of mutton or goat's meat, with stale bread. He is fed in a basin under the table in the filling station house at five o'clock in the morning, or two o'clock in the afternoon. His color is black, and he likes the song, "Shay, Shay Murray." His beat has been recorded, but not transcribed.

Betel (BeTIL). Betel is a male god, who lives in a cave. He is a housekeeper, who helps the maid take care of the floors and the hard work around the house. His food is melon, and he is fed on the ground at one-thirty o'clock in the afternoon. He is a working god, and does

not dance. His color is green, and he is called by name.

SKY GODS

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Oto OTO	King Zombie	In ceiling of house and rules all other gods and zombies	Calalu and White Cane	In right hand corner of house, daily at high noon	Never dances, black - black cloth and black candle
Obei OBai		In cotton trees, he takes life, he kills	Fowl blood, live fowl blood, red blood mixed with white rum	At root of cotton tree and around circle of tree at twelve midnight	Seldom dances but is dangerous when he does. Black - can be black cloth or a black candle
Jubee JuBi		Lives in the kitchens, carries water for Obei	Susumba, a little round seed which is crushed and mixed with butter	In pathway of kitchen in an iron pot at seven in the evening	His sole duty is that of carrying water to Obei
Famous Femos	Kish KIS	In gate of yard and guards the gate	Goat meat and rice, cooked without salt and mixed with coconut oil and pumpkin	On top of gate in a jar or pot, preferably an earthen jar at two o'clock in the afternoon	Never dances. Colors are blue and a blue cloth or a blue candle. His beat is a variation of the same beat that one hears for Oto

SKY GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Bebee BeBi	Self-Protect	In a coffin in the bushes. Works for the sick; flogs with a rod	Bananas and sea-fish	Under the cellar of the house in a white-faced basin at three o'clock in the morning when one is going to work him	
Kakeei KəKiai		In a stone hole. He kills	Ripe bananas and live crabs or raw crab-meat	Eats at six in the morning, one in the afternoon and four in the afternoon	Never dances. His color is brown
Belgium BeljəM		Lives in a pond and feeds the birds	Grapenuts kernel out of grapes, ground up into sort of a meal	By the side of the pond on a banana leaf at ten in the morning	Pink
Doopee Dupi		Lives in a coconut tree in the shape of a bat. He is a messenger god. Flies day and night, never rests	He feeds himself	Has no special hour for feeding	Black

SKY GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Judee Juoi		Lives in the shoes. He is for courthouse cases and works there for people	Fowl eggs and sugar	Judee is fed at ten in the morning when he is called to help someone in a court case	White
Balaam Belam		Works for the fishermen on the seine or the fishpot. He protects his workings from other bad evils and is a very strong god	Raw lobster and beaten lobster in a sort of pulp	Four in the morning, three in the afternoon and sometimes at twelve noon	Red
Aitai aiTai		Betwixt and between. He never goes up and come down. He is a rough man. He uses his rod. When he comes the people squeal. He likes to play around with women	He is offered by sacrifice, sugar and water. He is fed ripe banana rum	Three times per day; seven, twelve and six	He dances at 3:00 A.M. He works at 4:00, 5:00, and 6:00 A.M. His color is Isle of Trove, a pale green
Teesha Tiš	Mother of the earth	She lives in the earth and sweeps the yard of a home; sweeps out the destruction	Pumpkin. She gives the flesh to man	Twice a day	She never really dances but the gods go through her. Her color is dark brown

SKY GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Batoon BaTuN		In the fields of the plantation and he weeds the grass	Bananas	On the ground at twelve o' clock noon	He dances when his mind tells him to and his color is blue
Balow Belo	Balo	Balo lives in the open yard of the home and sleeps there	White rice in a spoon	Two o'clock in the day and six in the evening	He does not dance and his color is black
Tuees TwIs		Lives on the way-side and walks along	Green leaves or any color	He feeds himself at any time	He does not dance and his color is blue. He is also a blue god
Faha FJHJ		He lives in the corner of a house and goes around visiting the houses as protection of the home	Pumpkin	Two o'clock in the night on a table in a white dish	Red
Abell lBEL		Abell lives in the church and works with the person. He gets his name from a bell	Bread and water	Six o'clock in the morning, in the pulpit in the church on a silver plate	

SKY GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Kha K'ɔ	Kah	He lives and sleeps in the grave and works when he wants to	Fried pork	One o'clock in the afternoon on the bare earth by the side of the grave	He dances the night of the Cumina
Fali (Fahlee) FɔLi	False	On the top of a mountain and works as a messenger	Green leaf from the mango tree		His color is red
Meeso Miso	Mesoh	He lives in the grocery shop and works with the shop master	Ripe plantain	Two o'clock at night	Black
Fee Fi		Fee lives near the sea and works by the fishermen, protecting their boats, pots, or seine	Fish and white rum		Fee does not dance and his color is blue
Beeal Bi-ɛL	Beel	Works in the pen for cattle and takes care of the cattle	Doesn't eat. Lives by drinking milk	Fed in a pan at any time	His color is white

SKY GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Abrack ƆBRƆK'		Lives in the shoes and helps the men who are ill by healing them	Potatoes	He is fed on the earth at any time	Abrack dances at 7:00 and his color is white
Abat ƆBƆT		Lives in the car, works as a driver and protects the driver	Ripe bananas		Blue
Tatoom T'ƆTum		In the drum. Helps to invoke the gods	White rum	The rum is rubbed or sprayed on the drum	Tatoom dances and his color is black
Abro ƆBRO	Ago ƆGo	Abro lives in the center post of the dancing booth and works there, going up and down	Pumpkin	He is fed at seven- at the beginning of the dance	He dances on his back and his color is red
Adabrack Adabat ƆDƆBƆT	(ƆDƆBRƆK'	Lives in a lake; visits every nine days and takes messages	Paw Paw	Under the house, three times a day; 5:00, 12 noon and four in the afternoon	He dances at 12 o'clock midnight and his color is white

SKY GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Abeegil ƆBiGIL	Abegail	Lives in the cane field and works with the cutter, helping to cut the cane	Juice of the sugar cane	Abeegil is fed in a pan	Red. He is a red god and dangerous
Sahtoon SƆTUN	Satoon	Lives in the bars and saloons and works with the bar maid		He is fed on the counter in a white glass at 8:00 A.M. and when the bar closes in the evening	Black. He is a black god
Banto BƆNTO		Lives on the coconut plantation and protects the property	Coconuts	Fed on the ground	Red
Flash FLƆS		In the theatres and protects the property	Nothing		White. He is a peaceful god
Twiss TwIS		Lives in a carpenter shop and works on the building	Wild potatoes	In the middle of the building on a piece of board at 1:00 in the afternoon	He does not dance and his color is blue

SKY GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Sango SƆNGO		In the blacksmith shop and works with the iron	Nothing		Red. He is a working god
Goomba GumBa	Gumba	Dancer. Always anxious to dance	Rice and mutton		
Saha SƆHƆ		In a tinsmith shop. He solders	Anything-nothing special	Anytime, in a tin built by the tinsmith	White
Mandoonbay MƆNDUNBE	Mangunday	In the African town from house to house. He is a dancer	Fish	In the middle of the yard in a frying pan at 1:00 in the afternoon	He dances at any time and his color is black
Atchak ƆT'E'ƆK	Achak	Lives in the school and teaches the other spirits	Green plantain	He is fed on top of the desk	He does not dance and his color is black
Faylah FƐƐƆ	Thala	Lives anywhere. Carries messages for the gods	Eats what he pleases	He eats at 12 noon	Blue
Chute C'UT'					

EARTHBOUND GODS

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Macoo Maqu	Shadrak	In a coco-nut tree. Does evil and con-trols evil workers	White rum		He dances at 10 P.M. His color is white and a red candle
Appei apiai	Meshak	In a rock by the river and he cures diseases			He dances at 2 A.M. His color is black and a blue candle
Biko Bi'k'o	Abendigo Beeco	Lives in a cotton tree. He is a killer and related to Shadrak			He dances at 4 A.M. His colors are black, white and brown
Babee BeBi	Daniel	In a coco-nut shell in the home. He is a messenger	Cooked lobsters	In his shell on a piece of white cloth at two o' clock in the after-noon	He dances at any hour. His color is white
Sing-quess SINQUIS	Buta	Lives in the power house and runs the machines	White sugar cane	In the power house at 3 A.M. in a spoon	He does not dance and his color is red
Leyah Leya		In the tomb and accompanies other spirits	Fish	He is fed on the bare ground	He dances at 10 P.M. His color is red

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Matee MOTi	Marites	Lives and works on the farm	White bread		He dances at 7 P.M. and his color is blue
Ajax ejax		Lives and works in a foundry		He is never fed	He does not dance. His color is blue
Tatano TaTONO		Lives in the home and is a slave master	Wild pumpkin crushed with coco-nut oil	He is fed in a blue plate	He dances and his color is blue
Amesa OMia	Anneah	Lives in a stable. Works with the horses and the jockeys	Eggs	He is fed on the ground at 4 A.M. and 1 P.M.	He does not dance. His color is red
Bluca B'Luka	Luka	Bluca lives in a palm tree. He does not do anything			White
Beliis BELis		He fishes and helps the fisher-men	Grated green bananas	He is fed at 3 A.M. in a calabash	He does not dance as he works on the sea. His color is red
Odek ODEK		On a ship and travels with the ship	Beef	On the deck at 7 A.M., 1 P.M. and 4 P.M.	Black is his color and he does not dance

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Jerome JEROM		Jerome is a singer and is attracted to any place where there is singing		He feeds himself	He sings and dances and his color is blue
Fata FATA	Bata	Lives on the farm and helps to cultivate it	Wild white potatoes	He is fed in the field in an iron pot	He doesn't dance. He is a working god. His color is red
Seeco SIKO	Siko	Lives in a hut and breaks stones	Green corn	He feeds himself at any time	He dances at one o'clock only. His color is green
Tromendos TROMENDOS		In a tailor shop. He is a tailor	Sugar and water	Fed in a glass basin	He is a working god and does not dance. His color is green
Beleese BELIS	DeLies	Lives in the grave. He is a killer	Sweet chops	Food is placed on the four corners of the grave when he is needed to officiate	He does not dance. His color is green
Kachee K'ACI	Katchi	Lives in the drum and is a drummer	White rum	Fed at any time in the middle of the drum	He dances at 1 P.M. His color is green

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Cynthia SINθia	Pine	In a stone hole. She's a laundress	Grated green potatoes	On a stone near her hole	She does not dance. Her color is green
Dapa Dapɔ		Lives in the cricket field and works with the crickets	Wine	Fed at 7 A.M., 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. on match days	He does not dance. His color is red
Brownie BRa°Ni		Builds his own home someplace. He is a mason		Feeds himself	He does not dance. His color is black
Batch BƆT'C'	Vatch	Lives in the goat stall and protects the goats	Goat's milk	Fed in a brick container	He does not dance. His color is dark brown
Chickee C'IK'i		Lives in a bottle under the house. He gambles	Raw mutton	He is fed in a sardine can near the mouth of the bottle	He does not dance. His color is black
Fitt FIT		Lives in one's head and keeps the brain	White beans	He eats with the person	He dances at midnight and 4 A.M. His colors are green and blue
Keel K'iL		Lives under the dresser in the kitchen and kills rodents, etc.	Green pepper	On the ground under the dresser	He does not dance. His color is brown

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Mendoo MINDA		Lives on a boat and protects it	Ripe bananas and dry sugar	Fed on a piece of canvass in the boat at any time	He does not dance
Atlas ATLAS		Lives in a drycleaning shop and renovates the clothes	Sugar and water and stale bread	Fed in a pan	He does not dance. His color is white
Alec ALIK'		Lives in the rose garden and works as a gardener		He feeds himself	Red
David DAVID		Lives in the bank. He is an accountant	Green caloes	Fed on a wooden trough at any time	He does not dance. His color is dark brown
James JEMS		Companion and protector for the god Meshak	Calla lilies	Fed on a wooden trough	
Ivan q'VAN		Works in the power house operating the machines	Ripe tomatoes	Fed at the power house at 6 A.M., 12 noon and 6 P.M.	He does not dance
Labon LEBAN		Lives in a coconut storage house and bags coconuts	Mixture of wheat and dry coconut	Fed on the bag	He does not dance. His colors are green and red

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Leah Le)		Under the floor of a coconut house. Her work is messenger and water-bearer for Kisha	Lettuce	Fed on the coconut limb	She dances and her color is red
Augustus)gastas		Lives on the bus and is a driver	Parched onions	Fed on the floor of the bus at 5 A.M.	She dances at 7 P.M. Her color is red
Ezekiel izikil		Lives with Hatsi and works as a messenger	Scallions	He is fed on the roof of the house at any time	He dances at 4 A.M. and 1 P.M. His color is red
King Makoo Maku	King Machoo	Lives in the grave-yard and teaches the other spirits	Guinip	Fed on the grave yard, or the church ground at 4 A.M.	He dances
Davis Dquis		In the church tower and rings the bell	Does not eat		He is one of the few gods who have no color
Percy Prci		In the garage and protects the vehicles	Orange juice	On the shelf, in a glass at 2 P.M.	He does not dance. His color is red

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Mabell MEBEL		In the bamboo tree. She is a dressmaker	Mixture of apple and lime juice	Fed at 2 A.M. when you want to use her	She does not dance. Her color is white
Daratee DARATI		In a coffin under the bed. Protects and cares for the sick		Fed at any time	She dances at 4 A.M. Her color is black
Fanceeko FINCIKO	Chiko Panchiko	He is an electrician		He is not fed	He does not dance. His color is red
Archie ARCʻi		In a butcher shop. Works with the butcher	All kinds of raw meat	He feeds himself	He does not dance. His color is blue
Zache Zakʻi	Zachi	Lives in the open air and can be used for any purpose	He does not eat		He does not dance. Called by his name
Uriah yuraʻa	Euriah	Lives with and accompanies musicians		Fed in a white saucer in the home at 4 A.M.	He dances and his color is green
Moses MOSIS		Lives on top of the church tower and represents the parson	Bread and wine	Fed under the pulpit in an aluminum pan	He does not dance. His color is red

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Teena TINO	Teenah	Lives from place to place and dances at the Cumina	Fowl meat and white rice	She is fed on the ground	Red
Jimmy JIMI		In the carpenter shop and works with the carpenter		He feeds himself	He does not dance. His color is white
Cain KEN		Lives on a mountain near the river and serves the River Maid	River fish	He feeds himself	He dances at ten o'clock. His color is green
Beetel BITOL	Betal	Lives in the butler room and works with the butler	Green beans	He is fed at 12 noon and 3 P.M.	He dances at 1 A.M. His color is white
Sincabo SINKABO		In the ice factory and helps to make ice	Ripe mango, sliced	He is fed at 6:15 A.M. on the ice	He does not dance. His color is blue
Gerald JIRALD		Lives in the bamboo. One of the fishermen's gods	Cabbage	Fed in a saucer at 4:25 P.M.	He does not dance. His color is black
Melia Milia	Maya	In a bakery to do the baking	Chopped foods	She is fed at 3 A.M.	Never dances. Her color is white

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Wilmott WILMAT		In the bushes. He is a coal burner	Corn meal	Fed in a bucket at 1 P.M.	He does not dance. His colors are blue and black
Benjamin BINjAMIN		In the poor-house and works with the nurses	Crushed beets	Fed on a banana leaf, in the middle of the yard at 10 P.M.	He never dances. His color is green
Darcos DaRKos	Darkus	In the post office. Works with the postmistress	Bread and wine	Fed in a glass at 4:15 A.M. and 12 noon	She does not dance. Her color is blue
Felix FiLIX		In the shoe shop and works with the shoe-maker	Grated coconut	Fed on a piece of board at 7 A.M., 12 noon and 5:30 in the evening	He never dances. His color is red
Tampo TJMpo		Lives and works in the sugar factory	Boiled shelled corn	Fed on a piece of brown paper at 12:30 P.M.	Never dances. His color is green
Fasta Fasta		Lives and works on the train	Apple juice	Fed in a milk pan near the engineer at 4:15 A.M. and 1 P.M.	He does not dance. His color is black

EARTHBOUND GODS - continued

Name	Other Names	Where The God Lives And What The God Does	What The God Eats	Where And When The God Is Fed	When The God Is Called And What His Colors Are
Obe OBi	Obi	In the market and works with the butcher	Boiled breadfruit and butter	He is fed under the stall at 7 A.M., 12 noon and 3:30 P.M.	He does not dance. His color is blue
Irvine ERWIN	Irving	Lives and works at the gas station	Mutton and stale bread	He is fed in a basin under the table at 5 A.M. and 2 P.M.	He does not dance. His color is black
Betel BeTIL	Batel	Lives in a cave and is a house-keeper	Melon	Fed on the ground at 1:30 P.M.	He does not dance. His color is green

ANCESTRAL ZOMBIES

Jimmy Snate. Jimmy Snate died about 1938, at the age of 78, in Staunton, where he is buried. He left one living child, a daughter.

When he comes in possession the dancing zombie must be held at all times, for the dancers own protection; otherwise, the man with whom he is dancing is very apt to hurt himself, often seriously. At the close of the possession Jimmy Snate is fed goat's blood, on the head of the possessed dancing zombie.

This is the way Jimmy Snate was brought out of possession in life from his favorite zombie, who was an old african. It has been indicated that the grandfather of one informant told him that Jimmy Snate used to dance most of the time to a great zombie who was Jimmy's own grandfather, "a real African." It is felt that today, the same old African grandfather comes along with Jimmy Snate when he comes to possess dancing zombies at the dances. The two zombies, in reality, possess the one dancing zombie.

Wilmont Bailey. Wilmont Bailey died about 1942, at the age of 64, in Spring Garden, where he is buried. He left two children, one girl and one boy, both of whom are still living today.

Sophie Bartly. Sophie died in Staunton, in 1939, at the age of 74. She left a number of children; at least three of her sons are still living. She puts a red handkerchief on her head, holds it with her hand and bobs up and down gayly. Sophie also sings, likes many of the Bilah songs, and sings them. Normally, the song she chooses is already being played, at the moment, by the drummers and the singers. At times, she calls for a song of her own. She is very welcome at all the dances and they let her stay as long as she wants. They feed her rum and other things she calls for as she dances.

William Scott. William Scott died in 1941, at the age of 39, in Staunton where he is buried.

Manuka Vola. Manuka Vola died in 1928 in Johnston, near Doheny Pen. He was a very old African, born in Africa, and was around 80 years old when he died. He left more than 15 children, including 10 girls and 5 boys.

The ancestral zombie of Manuka Vola is sung to in many of the Bilah songs. He is one ancestral zombie who has attained a very high position equal, and in some cases superior, to the earthbound gods.

Attendants always take great care of whoever is possessed by Manuka Vola. Sometimes, Manuka lets out a squealing sound, like "Who-ee, who-ee." He likes both Bilah and country songs, but comes out of a dancing zombie by use of country songs, deep drumming, heavy banda drumming, and playing on the playing drum in the very center of the head. The country song that is usually sung for Manuka, is his own song, "Alanda Cummina," which starts out with the following words:

Walter Bailey. Walter Bailey died in 1931 at the age of 49. "He had a big pot belly" and left no children. He died in Staunton, and is buried there. Walter Bailey likes to dance to country songs and enjoys drinking a little white rum. He is greatly respected and is not vicious or unkind in possession, but very friendly and loving.

William Bailey. William Bailey died in Staunton, in 1946. He was 46 years of age and had no children. He enjoys country songs and the playing of the drums accompanying country songs. William Bailey especially enjoys to possess a woman zombie dancer.

Grace Bailey. Gracie Bailey died in Spring Garden, in 1948, at the age of 54. She is buried in Spring Garden and had her entombment on the 28th of August, 1950. She had one boy and one girl. Gracie Bailey ties her head in black, and also puts a black cloth around her waist with her skirt pulled up a bit, and bagged over. She loves to sing and always sings, "Too Windy."

Tisha Bailey. Tisha Bailey died in Staunton, in 1940, when she was 40 years old. She left no children. Tisha Bailey is buried in one of the Bailey burying grounds, in Staunton.

Benjamin Snate. Benjamin Snate died in Spring Garden, in 1945, when he was 57 years of age. He left no children. He was a big man, very heavy set, who loved to dance in his lifetime.

James Grassett. James Grassett died in 1929 near Morant Bay, on Staunton Road. He was 42 years of age when he died and left two daughters.

"Ya, Mamuka, Gal wat-so-da-matta King Zombie, Coo-Coo."

Stanley Espute. Stanley died of tuberculosis in November 1948, in Dumphries. He was 31 years of age and left two girls and one boy. He was a close friend of several informants.

To take him off, the hands of the possessed dancer are grasped and brought over the dancer's shoulders. The master of ceremony then takes Stanley off by holding him very tightly while rum is poured on the dancing zombie's neck and Bilah songs sung into his ear. Finally, Stanley Espute comes out and releases the dancing zombie.

Queeny Espute. Queeny died in 1946 in Needhan Pen, where she is buried. She was 47 years old and left one boy and one girl. To take her out of a dancing zombie, country songs are sung and the beat of Oto is very strong. Rum is blown around the ring.

Obi Beckford. Obi died in 1943 at Seaman's Bay in License. He is buried, however, in Staunton. He was 53 years old and left one child, a girl. Obi is taken out of a dancing zombie by singing country songs and blowing white rum around the ring.

Margaret Miller. Margaret Miller died in 1942 at Danbury Pen. She was 55 years old and left five children; three boys and two girls. She ties her waist with a piece of cloth that is drawn very tight.

Margaret is a child of a mixed marriage between a Maroon (white Amigo) and an african kongo. Often she dances with the great Maroon Gangfrara, Cudjo. This is why she cannot always be contained in the ring. She loves Bilah and likes particularly the songs, "Alanda

Cumina", "Rickeeta", and "Seven Year A Cooley Come".

Maria Miller. Maria Miller died in 1936 in Needhan Pen, where she is buried. She was 51 years old and left four children; three boys and one girl. She does not like Maroon dancing although she is half Maroon, and a sister of Margaret Miller. Maria is the only one in the family who never dances Maroon type dancing. She likes nothing but country songs. The singing of country songs brings her in and then takes her out at the end of a possession.

Amilia Murray. Amilia Murray died in 1941, in Dumphries, where she is buried. She was 43 years of age and left two boys and one girl but only one boy is still alive. She loves country songs or Bilah, and comes out with the singing of one or the other. The dancing zombie must be turned counter-clockwise, which is a normal procedure in taking ancestral zombies out of a dancing zombie.

Jimmy Grassett. Jimmy Grassett was a great obeah man who died in 1947, at the age of 49 years, in Dambers Pen.

As far as most of the informants are concerned, Jimmy Grassett was supposed to be the most successful and most famous obeah man in the entire eastern end of the island of Jamaica.

Jimmy used a lot of rum during his dance. One drummer said he had seen this ancestral zombie drink five pints of rum, over the period of one hour, while working on a case as an obeah man. This was the 120-130 proof white rum.

Jimmy likes to dance with a man with boots on and usually possesses

a tall black man. He likes any kind of Bilah country song. After Jimmy has had a dance, and his fill of rum, he leaves.

Linden Gorden. Linden Gorden died in Spring Garden in 1945, at the age of 33 years, and is buried there. He was survived by four sons. Linden is usually found at a gaming table, where he was in real life. Sometimes, he comes into the booth, but as in life, he does not dance much. He comes in just to play with women, since this is what he did in life. Linden works on women, plays with them and has a lot of fun.

Jessie Miller. Jessie Miller is the daughter of a Maroon father and an African mother.

Archie Pierce. Archie Pierce died in 1948, and is buried in Staunton. He has become a working god who serves Jimmy Grassett.

DANCES OF ZOMBIES

Macoo. Macoo, an earthbound god, begins his possession dance as described by group 2. The possessed dancer staggers, but does not fall, and immediately goes into a spinning dance with the wide circles, which must be controlled or the dancer flies out of the dancing ring. During the second section of his dance, the spins are controlled and the dancer spins as he travels the dancing ring. The third part of this dance comes when the dancer stops the spins, straightens up, and dances around the ring, stopping to shake hands with people watching the ceremony, sometimes trying to drag the people into the ring.

Appei. Appei, an earthbound god, begins his possession dance as described by group 5. He hits hard and suddenly; the dancer falls to the ground, completely unconscious. When he comes to, the dancer springs up, hops in strict time to the beat of the banda to the nearest tree or post, where he rapidly climbs to the highest spot possible. In the second phase of the dance, even though strictly attended, the dancer breaks away many times and tries to climb one of the posts which holds up the corners of the dancing booth. Many times, in his initial and subsequent climbs, this god tries to climb up feet first. He is therefore carefully attended, since he has been known to kill the dancer possessed by him in the fall from a tree head first.

Appei is released and controlled by twisting the hair into two braids and blowing the braids with rum. There is no third phase in this dance, since as soon as possible, the hair is twisted and the possessed dancer released.

Biko. Biko, an earthbound god, begins his possession dance as described in group 4. The dancer falls backwards, or if forward, rolls over on his back and stiffens out, body rigid, hands clenched. Attendants work very hard to bring the dancer into the second phase of the dance by spraying him with rum and unclenching the hands. The dancer is then brought to his feet and dragged around the dancing ring. Slowly, his body responds to the basic banda beat with a bending motion, which continues throughout the second and third sections of the dance. The gestures and motions become less and less pronounced until in the third section, the dancer becomes conscious and the god leaves.

Babee. Babee, an earthbound god, is not a myal dancer. He is invoked to help the attendants control other of the earthbound gods when they have seized dancers in possession. Babee is used especially in the first and second phases of the dances, and to control Shadrack-macoo, Mescheck-Appei, and Abendigo-Biko.

Singquess. Singquess is an earthbound working god who seldom dances. When he does, he begins his possession dance as described in group 6. The possessed dancer is knocked to the ground, rises and forms a wrestler's bridge with the back of his head touching the ground, and the body supported by the hands and feet, while the torso begins a grinding

rhythmic motion. Phase two of the dance comes after the attendants bring him to his feet, and dances with the possessed dancer's hands on hops, abdomen extended and pulsating in a grinding motion. The bodies sometimes can touch each other, often do not. The third phase of the dance is the grinding motion while dancing alone, a slower, easier pulsation of the abdominal region of the body.

Leah. Leah, an earthbound female god, begins her dance by dropping the woman dancer to the ground in a sitting position, knees drawn up, hands on the ground. It is supposed to occur only when the god catches a woman at the dance during her period. The dance itself, is a bouncing dance in this position. The attendants work very hard to release the woman immediately by blowing rum and singing country songs, which will induce the god to release the dancer.

Matee. Matee, an earthbound god, begins his possession dance as described in group 1, riding the shoulders of the dancer. It is a dignified erect posture, with the head moving slowly from side to side, and the arms stretched up with the palms of the hands facing the sky, shoulder high. Very slow majestic turns are made and the face is happy and peaceful. The attendant induces the god to leave by holding the waist of the man or woman dancer, and turning the body in a clockwise direction. The turns are faster and faster until the god leaves the body.

Ajax. Ajax, an earthbound god, attends every Cumina, enters the drums, but then stands around and watches the dance, not dancing himself.

Informants could not remember when they had seen Ajax dance, and could not identify him if he possessed a dancer.

Tatano. Tatano, an earthbound god, is a messenger god and a calling spirit. It is Tatano who forces the people to hear the beat of the Banda in their houses and come to the Cumina. When he possesses a dancer, the dance is immediately begun at a high level. The possessed dancer dashes around the ring as a mad person, flaying his arms, leaping off into space, jumping high into the air. Throughout his dance, several attendants must work with him since he tosses and turns and is never still. Tatano is considered very dangerous when dancing in possession. It is a possession dance that can bring injury to the dancer and to others dancing in the ring, or surrounding the dancing booth. In the third phase of the dance, the movements quiet down and the dancer calls for sugar and water, which is brought to the dancer immediately, and country songs are sung.

Amesa (Anneah). Amesa, an earthbound working god, seldom dances. When he does, the dancer is tossed on his side between the drums, as described in class 5. While in this position, the dancer begins a muscle movement, twitching of the arms, legs, and the entire body, which is related to the movements sometimes seen in an epileptic seizure. This movement becomes more regular and the muscles begin a pulsating rhythmic movement as the dance proceeds.

Beleese. Beleese, an earthbound god who lives in a grave, is reputed to be a drummer and therefore possesses only drummers while they are on active duty, playing the drums. When he enters the body of the drummer, the man springs from the drums and dashes out of the booth. Beleese does not go with the man, however, but returns immediately to the drum. It takes a very strong drummer to mount the drum while the god is there. To control Beleese, rum is blown on the surface of both the Banda and the playing drum, and then rum is blown throughout the booth.

Jerome. The dancer possessed by Jerome, an earthbound god, remains standing as in group 1. As the dance develops in the first section, the possessed dancer bends from the waist in time with the left foot, and makes a breathy sound like, "who-ee! who-ee!" The steps are the straight walking steps of Cumina, but the bending and sound are very much like trumping and laboring in the Revival Cult.

Seeco. Seeco, an earthbound god, dances in the first phase of possession as in group 1. The arms are outstretched, even with the arm pits, hands up to the sky. The dancer immediately calls for two glasses of water, one in each palm. The second phase of the dance is a slow majestic wheeling with arms outstretched, which is broken and the walking step continued, turning the body from the waist up, first left, and then right, in time with the first note of the Banda. The balance of the dance is indicated when it can be reported that the water in the glasses never is spilled out.

Tromendos. Tromendos is an earthbound god who seldom dances. When he does, he dances in possession on the sun dial at high noon. The first positions follow group 1, to which is added a deep trumping sound. In the second phase of the dance, the arms are swung back and forth and the body is bent from the waist. The movement becomes not unlike the laboring movements of revival. This god is sometimes mistaken for one of the fallen angels of Pocomania, since they too, dance the sun dial at high noon and dance closely to the style of Tromendos. The possessed dancer is released by the singing of country songs, together with the beats of Tromendos.

Kachee. Kachee, an earthbound god, begins his possession dance in group 1; then develops a rotation of the hips and extension of the stomach and torso in a grinding movement, usually against the stomach of an attendant. In the later phase of this dance, the dancer dances alone, the rotation becomes less and less, until the walking step ends the dance; country songs are sung and the beats of Kachee are played.

Cynthia. Cynthia is an earthbound working god who does not often dance. Her dance, however, is as in group 1 but the arms are held to the side and the principal step is the walking step already mentioned.

Dapa. Dapa, an earthbound god, begins his dance as in group 2. In the second phase of the dance, the spinning develops a pronounced dip. The knees are bent in part of the spin, and the god salutes the four corners of the dancing booth with spins and dips in each corner. In this phase of the dance, the attendants watch the possessed dancer

very closely, sometimes holding the arms of the dancer. During the third phase of the dance, the spins and dips are more controlled, the arms raised slightly to the elbows, forearm and hands limp and dangling.

Brownie. Brownie is also an earthbound god who seldom dances. His dance, however, begins as in group 1 but the arms are not raised and the back and shoulders are bent back. Gradually, a rhythmic graceful grinding rotation of the mid torso is begun, rotation from the hips; an attendant places a piece of cloth around the buttocks of the dancer, and pulls the dancer to his extended mid torso, which he or she also rotates in the same direction as the possessed dancer. During the following phase of the dance, the rotation is continued but the two bodies are separated; the attendant controls the possessed dancer by holding both ends of the piece of cloth. The dance is concluded by the singing of Bilah songs and the beats to the god Brownie.

Batch. Batch, an earthbound god who seldom dances, begins his possession dance by hitting the dancer down to his or her knees. Arms are held behind the back, and the walking step is taken around the dancing ring on the knees. Batch is taken off the dancer by singing Bilah songs, drumming of his beats, and by blowing rum on the face and on top of the head of the dancer.

Keel. Keel, an earthbound god who seldom dances, begins his possession dance by directing the dancer to jump between the drums; the legs are spread and the walking beat is kept, remaining in the one spot, between the drums, the dancer standing on one foot and then the other.

Both drums are fed with rum and the dancer calls for a glass of rum, which is placed on the ground between the drums and directly under the center of the dancer. Rum is then poured on the earth in the center of the dancing booth.

It is believed that most ancestral zombies come into the dancing booth by a different method than do the sky and earthbound gods, who come down the center post, into the drum, then into the earth, into the feet of the chosen dancer, up his legs, spine, to his shoulders, and then into his head. The ancestral zombie is generally believed to walk into the booth, much as he, or she, did in his life time. Then the ancestral zombie circles the dancing ring, chooses a zombie dancer, hits the dancer on the shoulders and head directly, and then proceeds to dance with the chosen dancer. The exceptions to this behavior are in those instances where an ancestor danced to an older ancestral or earthbound god, in which case, that god may really be directing the possession, though the god may be unknown or difficult to identify. In this instance, the ancestral zombie comes in the manner described as being the method used by the sky or earthbound gods.

Variations between the dances of the several ancestral zombies are as follows:

Jimmy Snate. When this ancestral zombie possesses a dancer, the dancer folds his arms across his chest, shouts, and begins a jumping, twisting dance around the ring. His body is tossed about, and the attendants have to hold him very carefully, lest he hurt himself and others. The dance is concluded after a little goat's blood is poured upon the head of the dancing zombie. This blood is mixed with rum, and kept for such purposes. Several informants report that their parents and grandparents told them that Jimmy Snate danced this way in life, because he was dancing to a very strong ancestral zombie, Jimmy's own grandfather, and that this spirit may come along to the dances too, but no longer is known.

Wilmont Bailey. The ancestral zombie Wilmont Bailey, usually possesses two women at the same time. The women face one another, and do a rotating hip and torso grinding step, moving sideways around the dancing ring. The women smile at one another, with arms outstretched, but not touching. The ancestral zombie dances between them, one woman on each of his hips.

William Bailey. This ancestral zombie tosses the dancer to the ground, and then dances on his back with the possessed person on top of him, theoretically. The dancer dances around the ring, head first on his or her back, with a jerky pulsating movement; propulsion of the body coming from the heels and the elbows, with the buttocks raised and lowered.

Walter Bailey. This ancestral zombie dances with his hands on his hips, shoulders back and abdomen extended in a grinding rolling of the hips and thorax. He wears a towel around his neck.

Gracie Bailey. Gracie calls for a black cloth on the head of the dancer she possesses; also a black cloth around the waist and the frock pulled up a bit so that it bags over. In the first phase of her dance, the possessed dancer whirls around the dancing ring, finally falling on her knees. The second phase of the dance is on the knees around the circle, singing "Too Windee", a Bilah song.

Teesha Bailey. This ancestral zombie dances with her hands on her abdomen, which rolls the abdomen in a circular motion, while the hip motion is extended for the grind. This movement is alternated with a period of wheeling out to the corners of the booth, and then into a sweeping circle of the dancing ring at the close of the dance.

Benjamin Snate. This ancestral zombie does the walking step around the ring, and the possessed dancer turns from one side to the other, with a very large smile on his face. It is a quiet, friendly dance.

James Grassett. James Grassett enters the dancing ring and takes possession by holding the hands of the dancer from the rear, pulling the hands and arms back slightly, while the dance is a backward side step, right foot sideways and the left foot pulled to the right. The dance is around the circle in this manner.

Sophie Bartley. In her possession dance, Sophie puts a large red handkerchief on her head and holds the ends in her hands; then hops gaily up and down. She begins to sing Bilah songs, usually the one being played and sung at the moment of her possession. Sophie then calls for what she wants; rum, food, water. She is very popular with the groups and her possessions usually are for long periods of time.

William Scott. This ancestral zombie merely walks into the ring and begins to dance with a partner. The basic step is the walking step, with polyrhythmic side steps and body movement. The dancer is conscious of the presence of the zombie, but several informants insist that dancing with William Scott is different from most gods and zombies, since one is always conscious. This was observed in many instances and the statement would appear to be correct. Dancers possessed by this ancestral zombie smile, and seem to be having a wonderful time. They do not change character and recognize their friends at all times.

Manuka Vola. This ancestral zombie is very powerful and is the parent and ancestor of a large number of people. Under possession, the dancer orders a towel placed about his neck, jumps and tosses his body around the ring in wide sweeps. The arms are raised up, always reaching for something; trying to pull some of the covering off of the dancing booth, pulling at the colors on the center post, etc. The head is turned up to the sky, the eyes staring up with a fixed gaze on the ceiling of the dancing booth. During the portions of his dance,

the possessed dancer cries out a breathy call, like "who-ee! who-ee!" Drumming is very deep and hard. This is particularly true of the Banda drum. The dancer is closely attended by one or two attendants who hold his wrists, but allow the arms to be raised for a while, and then slowly bring the arms down. The country song, "Ya Manuka, Gala wat-sa-da-matta, King Zombie Coo-Coo", is always sung during this dance.

Stanley Espute. This ancestral zombie possesses a dancer near the edge of the dancing booth, who falls on his hands and knees around the ring in the first phase of the dance, then jumps up and holds the dancer under the arm pits. It is observable that the dancer holds up the shoulders as if being held by a large man. The attendant who dances with the possessed dancer, places the arms of the dancer on his shoulders. When it is time to take Stanley off the possessed dancer, the attendant turns and brings the arms in front of him, holding the body of the dancer on his back, while rum is poured down the possessed dancer's neck and head, and Bilah songs are sung in the ear of the dancer.

Queenie Espute. Queenie hits and wheels around the ring with deep bends, but the body from the hips up, is kept erect.

Obe Beckford. Obe hits and dances on his left leg, with the right leg drawn back at the knee. The arms are swung back and forth across the chest, while the torso is bent slightly from the waist.

Margaret Miller. This ancestral zombie calls for a piece of cloth tied very tightly around her waist, then begins to wheel with arms outstretched, even with the shoulders. In the first phase of the dance, she wheels around the ring. Then, in the second phase, dashes at right angles from the center post, right out of the booth towards the place where the bodies of her family and her own remains are buried. If she is dancing in her own families' yard, she goes directly to the graves, then returns. If in another yard, she goes to the grave area, then returns. If Maroons are present, and Cudjo appears, she dances this sliding, leaping dance over the flames with Cudjo. Because she is half Maroon, she can never be contained in the dancing ring and the attendants do not try to hold her there.

Amelia Miller. This ancestral zombie hits in possession, and the dancer holds on to the attendant's hips and presses her body very close to the attendant and rotates the hips and lower abdominal region against his. Occasionally, she kicks a leg backward, which throws her body even harder against the attendant. In the second phase of the dance, she calls for a kerosene lamp and a glass of water, which she holds in her hands; arms outstretched. Often, towards the close of the dance, she asks for rum and silver to be placed in her glass. To force this zombie to leave, country songs are sung and the dancer's body is turned counter-clockwise until the possession is over.

Jimmy Grassett. In life, Jimmy was a great obeah man and there are tremendous tales of his accomplishments. When he comes to a dance and possesses a dancer, the dancer dances a rough tumbling dance; arms

waving and legs taking great strides. Usually, Jimmy possesses a large man with shoes on. He calls for, and consumes, a great deal of rum. Unlike the normal zombie, where a token spraying of sum suffices, quantities of rum are used to feed this zombie. When Jimmy has had his fill of rum and dance, he leaves without further action on the part of the attendants.

Linden Gordon. This ancestral zombie does a walking dance and under possession, the dancer strolls out and watches the gaming tables. Whenever he can, Linden gets up close to a woman and begins to play with her. Sometimes in this phase, he does a grinding dance with a woman, but in the ring, the dance is a simple walking step.

Jessie Miller. Jessie hits in possession by bending the woman dancer at the waist to a right angle; then begins a wheeling dance interspersed with a stop, and a backward and forward step, still bent over. Occasionally, when she steps backward, she falls into the crowd standing around the dancing booth. She then rights herself, and slowly wheels in wide circles around the booth, still bending over, with an accented dip in the wheeling motion. At the turn of the dip away from the center post, she falls into the crowd.

DANCE POSITIONS

Picture 1. JIMMY SNATE - Ancestral zombie

Dances this way part of the time.

MANUKA VOLA - Ancestral zombie

Dances this way in part of his dance. He always uses a bath towel.

Picture 2. Dance Class No. 1. Position as described.

MATEE

Wags his head from side to side but uses this position.

SEECO

Holds his head still and a glass of water in the palm of each hand. Dances in this position.

Picture 3. SOPHIE BARTLEY - Ancestral zombie

Places her hands on her head; a red handkerchief is placed on her head and she dances in this position.

Picture 4. MANUKA VOLA - Ancestral zombie

Also uses this posture in his dance.

DANCE POSITIONS

1

2

3

4

DANCE POSITIONS

Picture 5. JIMMY SNATE - Ancestral zombie

Throws his arms and shouts in part of his dance, when he takes this position.

MACOO

Dances a spinning dance in this position.

Picture 6. Dance Class No. 7. Position as described.

MACOO

Spinning dancer. Also uses this position.

Picture 7. KATCHIE

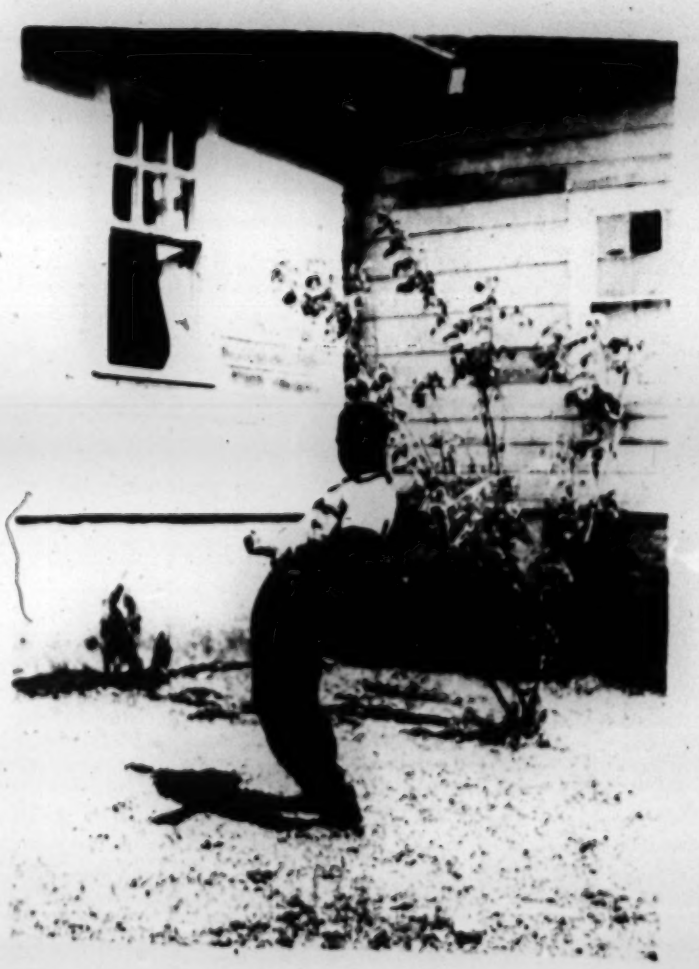
Comes as a mongoose or as a kuuba. It is a grinding dance, hips and belly, from this position.

Picture 8. Same as picture 7.

5

6

7



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DANCE POSITIONS

Picture 9. MARIA MILLER - Ancestral zombie

This is one of her postures in her dance.

Picture 10. TEESHA BAILEY - Ancestral zombie

Dances this way using a slight grind - working the belly against her partner.

Picture 11. Dance Class No. 7. Position as described.

DAPA

Circle spinning dance; wide sweeping spins in this position.

MARGARET MILLER - Ancestral zombie

Ties her waist with a cloth and wheels with arms extended in this position as part of her dance.

Picture 12. Dance Class No. 4. Position as described.

APPEEI

Uses this position and tries to hop out of the booth.

OBE BECKFORD - Ancestral zombie

Stands on his left foot, swings arms back and forth and bends slightly.

9

10

11

12

DANCE POSITIONS

Picture 13. **BROWNIE**

Belly out, back bent. Uses a cloth around buttocks to control his partner.

Picture 14. Same as picture 13.

Picture 15. **STANLEY ESPUTE** - Ancestral zombie

Crawls around the ring in this position.

Picture 16. Dance Class No. 5. Position as described.

SINGUEES

First phase of his dance is a crab-like crawl in this position.

13

14

15

16

DANCE POSITIONS

Picture 17. BATCH

Dances in this position.

GRACIE BAILEY - Ancestral zombie

Dances in this position.

Picture 18. LEAH - Female God

Comes to females in this position.

Picture 19. BATCH

First position of his dance.

Picture 20. BATCH

Dances in this position.

GRACIE BAILEY - Ancestral zombie

Dances in this position.

DANCE POSITIONS

17

18

19

20

DANCE POSITIONS

Picture 21. Dance Class No. 3. Position as described.

BECCO

Body in cramp on the ground, in this position.

WILLIAM BAILEY - Ancestral zombie

Dances this position - head first around the ring.

Picture 22. AMEEA

Hits and falls between drums on his side in this position.

DANCE POSITIONS

21

22

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

african	(JFRIKJN)	the Negro cult group discussed in Chapter V
amata	(AMATA)	Loved
beezie	(BIZI)	Body, Flesh
banda	(BANDA)	Baritone Drum (african)
buta	(BUTA)	a man
cumarte	(KUMARTI)	Calling spirits
cuwedie	(KUWIDI)	Calling dead
cumama	(KUMAMA)	Calling dead mother
cuquela	(KUQELA)	Calling day
canga	(KANGA)	To dance
catatic	(KATATIC)	Percussion stick used in cumina (african)
clapper		same as catatic
deebu	(DIBU)	Blood
gangfrara	(GANGFRARA)	An initiate and dancer among the Maroons
grater		A stick with many notches used for percussion (african)
gomba	(GUMBA)	both the lead and the banda drums of the african
jobo	(JOBO)	blood (Maroon)
jah	(J)	a god (Maroon)
kanuba	(KNUBA)	a dead spirit
konakunda	(KONAKUDA)	can come
lange	(LANGE)	tall, straight, long
lAnga	(LJNGA)	water
meade	(MIEDI)	the spirits
malava	(MALAVA)	rum
Maroons		people living at Mooretown in the mountains in eastern Jamaica, and in the "Cockpit" country of western Jamaica.
myal	(MA[illegible])	formal possession by a known god or ancestral zombie, usually at a ceremonial. (african)
obeah	(OBIA)	power over spirits
pange	(PANGE)	to greet

sueketee	(SuiKITi)	sweet
shref-shref	(S'REF-S'REF)	spirit (Maroon)
shaker	(S'aKIR)	a gourd rattle used in Cumina
tange	(Tanɣe)	to dance
wange	(wanɣe)	to walk
wedinga	(wəDINɣa)	spirits take away
watto	(W)To)	waiting
weedie	(wi Di)	the dead
yacala	(yacala)	a man friend
yenconcon	(yENCONCON)	flesh (Maroon)
zombie	(Z)MBi)	god, ancestral spirit, possessed living person

APPENDIX C

Bilah songs recorded on tape but not transcribed.

Ricketa
Maneno Cuban
Finger Nail Oh
Long Bag of Money
Manuka de lan Gal
Three days Three nights
Maroon Gone
Bad Mother-in-law
Newene malava tonoa King Zombie
Mighty Clever (Marty Clever)
Wan go home Cabula
Grave Yard don't bother Me
Oh ya Gal aba Sininine
Shay, Shay Murray
Want to go Home Cudjo
Vida tell me
Poor Stranger
Simea, Simea
Alanda Cumina
Kisalea Mama
Daylight me no Airy
Landeman he lied though
Mona mona Gal, don't mona me
Don't care what dem say
Oh Maloche am Bombala
We walk all the night, Mondumbay
Cymbal, Oh
One Quarter Guma
Bakine Tumbay
Geng, geng, geng
Oh gal oh me cum
My yea, ,y yea
Oh de belly of a Femme
Tangoona
Sally Water
Sakoolande
Rundudungadu, dilly dilly Sally
Fire like to burn me
Follow the Niger Gal, mama
Wonder what me do
Oh Pilar name in the day
Seven year a Coolie come

Jamaican Country songs recorded on tape but not transcribed:

Wansuka, King Kongo mama
Oh de lang ganga tanga la
Vumala cacate
Wan Makenzie gone
Waya man poor Megiliard gone
Hand a born a knife a troat
Mona Kongala wan de la
Wakee, wakee, cum kill me dead
Run go down a Dilly, Dilly, Sally kasote
Tanga Langa Jenny

APPENDIX D

FOOD PRICES

The actual cost of all types of food was checked at the Market on four Saturdays in February and four Saturdays in August, 1950. Food costs for a family of five were based upon a composite figure of the prices for both periods. Prices remained very stable throughout 1950 in the Morant Bay Market.

FISH:

Redsnapper - 1/6 per lb.
Mullet - 1/6 per lb.
Kingfish - 1/6 per lb.
Mackerel - 1/6 per lb.
Jackfish - 1/6 per lb.
Parrotfish - 1/3 per lb.
Grunt - 1/3 per lb.
Doctorfish - 1s per lb.
Kassar - 1s per lb.
Congo-toni - 1s per lb.
Barracuda - 1/3 per lb.
Turbot - 1/3 per lb.
Arransprat - 10d per lb.
Junefish - 1/3 per lb.
Catfish - 1/3 per lb.
Drummer - 1/3 per lb.
Snook - 1/3 per lb.
Nainz - 1s per lb.
Lobster, large - 2/6 per lb.
Lobster, small - 2/6 per lb.
Land Crabs - 6d per doz.

The above prices were exactly the same in both August and February.

Fruit or Vegetable	February Rate	August Rate
Yellow Yams	2½d per lb.	4d per lb.
White Yams	3d per lb.	5d per lb.
Coconut	2½d each	3d each
Potatoes	2d per lb.	2½d per lb.
Bananas	4½d per doz.	Same
Bananas, small	3d per doz.	Same
Plantains	1d each	1½d each
Pumpkins depending on size	from 3d to 6d each	Same
Oranges	1s per doz.	1/9 per doz.
Grapefruit	1/6 per doz.	1/6 per doz.
Tangerines	1/6 per doz.	Same
Chow-Chow	1/6 per doz.	1/9 per doz.
Carrots (large bundle)	6d per bundle	Same

FOOD PRICES - continued

Fruit or Vegetable	February Rate	August Rate
Turnips (large bundle)	6d per bundle	Same
Corn, dried	7d per quart	Same
Cucumbers	1½d to 2d each	Same
Gungo Peas	2s per quart	2/10 per quart
Red Peas	2s per quart	2/10 per quart
Black Eyed Peas	1/6 per quart	Same
Beans	2s per quart	Same
Chocolate Beans	2s per quart	Same
Peppers	4d per doz.	8d per doz.
Scallions:		
by bundle	1½d to 6d for a	Same
by size	very large bundle	
Breadfruit, by size	1½d to 6d each	1d to 7d each
Mangoes, small	3d per doz.	Same
Mangoes, No. 14 or large	4d per doz.	Same
Beef Mango	1/6 per doz.	Same
Eota Apple	1s per doz.	Same
Cashew Apple	1/6 per doz.	Same
Custard Apple	1s per doz.	Same
Coconuts, per 100	16s	18 to 18/6
Coconut Oil	2/6 per quart	8s per quart
Water Coconuts, per 100	8/4	12/6
Coffee	2/6 per quart	Same
Irish Potatoes	9d per lb.	6d per lb.
Tomatoes, a heap		
(small pile)	½d to 1s½d	Same
Salad Tomatoes	1/6 per lb.	Same
Sour Sop	6d each and up	Same
Sweet Sop, per 100	8/4	Same
Naizeberry, a heap	6d (about 1¢ each)	Out of season
Paw-Paws, large	1 to 1/6 each	Out of season
Pineapples		
on size	6d to 2s each	Same
large, sugarloaf	2s each	Same
Charcoal, wood per 100 lbs.	4s	Same
Rice, brown	9d per lb.	Same
Rice, white	1/10 per lb.	Same
Sugar, wet (like molasses)	7½d per quart	8½d per quart
Starch (casava)	1s per quart	1/1 per quart
Tapioca	9d per quart	Same
Arrowroot	9d per quart	Same
Star Apples, per 100	8/4	Same
Dew Plums, per 100	8/4	Same
Pimento	1/6 per quart	Same
Curry and Parcels		
dependent on size	1½d to 1s each	Same

FOOD PRICES - continued

Meat	February Rate	August Rate
Beef: (killed at the market place)		
Shank Bone	9d per lb.	Same
Rib Steak	1/2 per lb.	Same
Sirloin	1/2 per lb.	Same
Undercut	1/2 per lb.	Same
Liver	1/2 per lb.	Same
Plank Steak	1/2 per lb.	Same
Rib Steak	1/2 per lb.	Same
Back Steak	2/2 per lb.	Same
Heels	2s each	2/6 each
Head	8d per lb.	Same
Guts or Tripe, bundle	1s	Same
Heart	1/2 per lb.	Same
Soup Bones (depending upon bone)	1/2 per lb.	9d per lb.
Pork, any cut	1s per lb.	Same
Mutton, any cut	1/3 per lb.	Same
Goat, by size **	2s per lb.	Same
Turtle	2s per lb.	Same

**(from 1 pound a kid to 5 pounds, sterling, a large goat; actually it would have to be a pretty large goat, since I never saw a goat for sale in the market bringing more than 2, or at the very top 3 pounds; this was a pretty good sized goat.)

Eggs	1s per doz. to 1/6	1/6 to 2/6 per doz.
Butter (8 oz. pkg.)	1s9½d to 11d	Same
Margarine	2s per lb.	Same
Milk, evaporated	1/3 per can	Same
Milk, condensed	1/1 per can	Same
Milk, fresh (two different types; 1 whole milk; other with cream separated)	10d to 8d per quart	Same
Sugar, white	3½d per lb.	Same
Sugar, brown	2d per lb.	4d per lb.
Sugar, white granulated	4d per lb.	Same
Flour, white	5d per lb.	5½d per lb.
Flour, whole wheat	1/6 per lb.	Same
Corn Meal	5d per lb.	Same
Codfish, salt	1/2 per lb.	Same
Shad	1s per lb.	Same
Mackeral, salt	1s per lb.	Same
Beef, salt	1/8 per lb.	Same
Pork, salt	1/6 per lb.	Same

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